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ABSTRACT

The book presents 13 articles which examine objectives, practices, sociocultural influences, and limitations of folk high schools in Northern Europe and North America from 1800 to the 1970s. Folk high schools are residential education institutions for young adults which are based upon heightening individual consciousness and commitment to a particular, often ethnically-related, goal for social change. Cases studied are the Danish Rural Movement, the Norwegian Cultural Nationalist Movement, the Swedish Folk Movement, and the U.S. Labor and Civil Rights Movements. The document is presented in four major parts. Part I presents a rationale, discusses a theoretical framework and a methodology for studying folk colleges, and examines the role of education in social movements. Parts II and III describe folk school movements in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lapland, and the United States. Information is presented on conditions under which social-movement education programs were created, conditions influencing the pedagogical effectiveness of folk schools, and relative effectiveness of movement-education to goal attainment. General findings indicate that alternative education programs have been most successful when they are tolerated by dominant elites, possess clear educational objectives, and offer students an awareness of new roles which they will play in changing communities. Part IV identifies limits on alternative non-formal education, including unqualified teachers, lack of standard entrance requirements, and weak economic support. (DB)

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Other Dreams, Other Schools: Folk Colleges in Social and Ethnic Movements

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The Spirit of Dialectical Fearlessness is
Not so Easily Acquired

Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*

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PREFACE

This book examines a number of instances during the past century or so when people sharing common problems and goals came together to create and use their own educational programs. More specifically, it examines, often in considerable programmatic detail, how folk high schools—a type of residential adult-education institution for young adults—have been more or less successfully used by farmer, labor, ethnic, and other movements as they have attempted to heighten individual consciousness and commitment to their dreams and goals for social change and social justice.

Although I have limited my coverage of FHS-type institutions in change-from-below efforts to Scandinavia and North America, this is not to imply that additional examples cannot be found in the rest of Europe or in the Third World. Rather, because Northern Europe and North America offer political and social climates where alternative education programs and democratic popular movements have been more or less tolerated by dominant elites, the phenomena has been most clearly and dramatically present in these areas. Where authority has only little tolerance for alternative definitions of the problem and sees social-change efforts outside of central control as, at best, subversive to elite or "national" interests, the phenomena is found only rarely—and then in an underdeveloped state.

As may be noted in my annotated bibliography, *Folk Schools in Social Change*,[1] compiled in preparation for this work, there are indeed numerous examples of FHS-type educational programs in other European and in Third World popular movements. Why these efforts have largely failed, in contrast to the achievements of FHS schools in Northern Europe—and to a lesser extent in North America—is a question that most assuredly merits further study. But that is another book, and we will present the "success story" first.

In an equally arbitrary manner, I have chosen to examine the origins, programs, and contributions of only one type of folk college, or folk high school (the terms will be used interchangeably). In Scandinavia, by far the greatest number of folk colleges have been under the control of central authorities and have sought to help individuals recognize and accept civic responsibilities and/or to compete more effectively as individuals in a given socioeconomic status quo. Most of the literature on folk colleges is written with this "top-down" type of essentially conservative municipal and county school in mind. In marked contrast, we will only examine folk colleges that were or are controlled by collective efforts, or popular movements, seeking to alter the status quo and secure some greater measure of what they view as social justice. These "bottom-up" movement controlled institutions operating from an implicit or explicit conflict orientation to the existing order may be relatively few in number. But because their educational programs have often made critical leadership contributions to influential popular movements, they have had an impact on the growth of democracy and pluralism in Scandinavia and North America far out of proportion to their size and numbers. And, when we note that formal schools by definition tend to inhibit social change by promoting individual mobility and by securing acceptance of the status quo, then it is to these relatively autonomous non-formal educational programs in collective efforts that we must look if we are to understand better under what conditions structured learning can most effectively contribute to individual and structural change in liberal, democratic societies.

Accordingly, when the Nordic Folk High School Council invited me to produce a book on folk-college contributions for publication in the United States, I gladly accepted. In an earlier study, I had begun to understand something of the folk high school's valuable contribution to the success of the Swedish folk movement.[2] These residential schools first helped farmers prepare for increased participation in local and national affairs. Later, other groups seeking related goals for social reform, i.e., the labor, temperance, free church, and several other movements, also created and operated their own folk high schools. And it was largely from these folk institutions that the eventually victorious Swedish folk movement took its leadership, and its equalitarian ideology of "folkhemmet," or "the people's home." For as folk movement controlled "high schools" were often egalitarian islands in the highly selective and elitist Scandinavian societies before the 1930s, so in the decades of folk political dominance after 1932 did these folk high schools become something of a model for social reconstruction and the building of welfare states where all citizens would, supposedly, be welcome and nurtured. True, this earlier study examined more specifically how the Swedish folk movement, once in power, sought to change Swedish formal schools to the folk-egalitarian model. This goal has now been largely accomplished through the introduction of a nine-year comprehensive school attended by children of all social classes, and by subsequent structural reforms seeking to eliminate elitism in the higher secondary gymnasiums and in the universities.

But it became evident while examining the impact of the folk-movement ideology on an elitist and highly selective formal-school system that in our time of growing disillusionment and cynicism about the potentials of formal schooling to help facilitate social reform, important evidence about non-formal or out-of-school educational contributions to change has been largely ignored. Here lack of knowledge abroad among non-Scandinavian scholars, faulty conceptualization, and a rather strong anti-conflict theory bias among Scandinavian scholars and educators of the Center and Left once their cause had "won" after 1932 may be partly responsible.

In any case, as the folk high schools' contribution to democratic social and ethnic movements, and to social reform in Scandinavia and North America, has received only spotty and largely atheoretical attention, it would seem that the time and opportunity are now at hand for a more systematic examination. This I have endeavored to provide by presenting a variety of studies that address the several implications of activist-type folk high schools in major national movements for educational-change theory, for methodology, as well as for educational planning in our own very different time.

In organizing the work and in choosing studies to be included, I have used several criteria. Perhaps most important has been the need to illuminate three basic questions: i.e., (1) Under what conditions have movements created folk colleges? (2) What pedagogical processes have been most effective? and (3) What have been, if any, the significant FHS contributions to social or ethnic movements supporting their own educational programs? I have also been concerned to show how an explanation of alternative educational programs in movements seeking individual and social renewal can be understood from both equilibrium and conflict perspectives. Here, my bias is clearly toward a conflict-theory interpretation that stresses the role of ideology, becoming, and a diagnosis that articulates the realities of power. I have sought nevertheless to balance the presentation with a number of works in functionalist perspective where efficiency and not equity concerns predominate.[3]

The work is divided into four major sections. Part One reviews the literature on non-formal, or out-of-school education, and places most movement folk high schools within this sector of the national learning complex in any society. It also demonstrates how most non-formal education serves the status quo, and how the contributions of folk colleges in advisary movements where education has facilitated individual and social change have been largely neglected.

A rationale and a theoretical framework to help explain and predict the origins and utility of social-movement education are also presented. This structural-bind theory, or "causal model," views the origins of social movements and their educational components—if any—as the consequence of a dialectical interaction between the movement and other groups in the society.

From this perspective, folk-college education, can be explained as a latent-movement function facilitating efforts to sustain growth and development in on-going movements, and to help achieve key objectives. As we will note, the "fighting folk colleges" are always part of larger social-change efforts. They seek to increase organizational solidarity and goal attainment. From this perspective, movement education is viewed as one of several movement activities seeking to facilitate manifest movement goals—i.e., the elimination of structural binds. And because of the theory's emphasis of dialectical relations between the movement and its environment, as well as on the internal binds within the movement and its educational components, it is quite possible for anyone to apply the model and load it with either functionalist or conflict assumptions concerning social reality and social-change processes. But because educational consequences of social mobilization around structural binds have often been instrumental in the outcomes of such collective change efforts, movement-education programs are not easily ignored if a conflict frame is used. The need to explain "fighting" folk college contributions is more readily apparent in a conflict approach than in the structural/functionalist approaches that have predominated to date.

The case-study presentation of folk-high-school origins, ideology, programs, and contributions in Parts II and III clearly illustrate this need. Here we examine how folk-college efforts have been more or less successful in movements arising from a variety of perceived structural binds, binds that have often changed with altered relations and conditions but are always directed to perceived inequities. Again our three guiding questions are kept in mind as we observe how several Scandinavian and North American groups addressing economic, political, ethnic, and other structural binds have, with varying success, sought to use their own educational programs to move from their diagnoses of "the way it is" to the way they believe "it should be."

Part IV opens with a questionable argument for folk colleges as a means to ease ethno-cultural binds in the United States, and to secure a more humanistic and culturally pluralistic society. This proposal contrasts noteably with the concluding summary chapter that offers a somewhat more critical assessment of what we might conclude from the case materials presented. Here the intent is to specify the conditions that most convincingly explain why movement educational programs have more or less accomplished their goals. And because a more systematic and nomothetic understanding of social-change efforts requires a cumulative process, we are also concerned to indicate how others might build upon and extend the inquiry presented in this work.

Certainly others might well single out different major folk high school contributions for scrutiny. We would, no doubt, also benefit, for example, from a closer examination of exactly how the folk high schools' unique pedagogy and residential learning context helped rural and working-class youth grow in their individual consciousness and understanding of social process and social responsibility, and in their awareness of possibilities to play new roles in changing communities. We would also, no doubt, profit from studies of how the more conservative municipal and county folk high schools, schools not examined here, have contributed to local development. Nor, do we have a very clear picture of how folk high schools have sought to adapt—sometimes unsuccessfully and sometimes not—to pressures for goal transformation and other changes coming from both inside and outside the movement and its schools. Hopefully, future scholars will find merit in these and other inquiries about folk high school contributions and potentials.

It is also to be hoped that the small but growing interest recently evidenced among Scandinavian academics in social-movement education and folk high schools will flourish.[4] Both in Europe and in North America university scholars have recently discovered folk-college education and its various functions in advancing the goals of groups attempting to make basic changes in national ideology, cultural hegemony, social relations, and political economy. While folk high schools may have largely played their important role of helping the folk majority create more equitable and democratic societies in Scandinavia, exactly how this occurred and its significance for both majority and minority movements elsewhere is little understood and merits scholarly attention. The need, simply put, is two-fold: to develop a more rigorous theoretical understanding of how anti-institutional, non-formal, out-of-school education has helped to facilitate political and socio-economic change; and to help those who wish to build upon FHS experiences as anti-structure in the hope of more effectively organizing movement education programs today.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge support from the Nordic Folk High School Council, the Swedish Institute, the Scandinavian Seminar, and the University of Pittsburgh Center for International Studies in these tasks. The late Adolf Anderson did much to initiate the project and to secure its approval and funding. Sigmund Moren has given generously of his time to coordinate activities, while Lars Bjorkbom's help was instrumental in solving problems along the way. Carol Jones of IDEP and the UCIS Publications staff are to be thanked for preparing the manuscript for publication. A word of thanks and acknowledgement should also go to those granting permission to revise and use previously published and unpublished materials:

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Chapter Three was published as "Nationalist Origins of the Folk High School," *British Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 19, No. 1 (February 1971): 70-90.

Chapter Four was published in *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Developing of a Farming Community.* Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1948.

Chapter Six was published as "Adult Education and Swedish Political Leadership." *International Review of Education,* Vol. 12, No. 2 (1966): 129-143.

Chapter Seven was published as "Separate Education as an Ethnic Survival Strategy," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly,* Vol. 8, No. 3 (August 1977): 181-188.

Chapter Eight was published as "Ethnic Revival and Educational Conflict in Swedish Lapland," *Comparative Education Review,* Vol. 20, No. 2 (June 1976): 179-192.

Chapter Eleven was published as "Highlander Folk School: Getting Information, Going Back and Teaching It," *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 42, (November 1972): 497-520.

Chapter Twelve was published in *Model for a Humanistic Education: The Danish Folk High School.* Columbus, Ohio: C. E. Merrill, 1971.

To these and all others too numerous to mention who assisted in this work, I offer grateful thanks. All the usual disclaimers apply, and I take full responsibility for the selection of contents, the organization, and all statements of fact and opinion not included in the work of my collaborators.

Finally, this book is dedicated to Elsa and Lennart Bratt, good friends whose sense of fair play, constraint, and compromise indicate something of why the Scandinavian societies have been able to move beyond folk movements and structurally generated social conflict to more open, democratic societies.

NOTES

1. Published by the University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, in 1974.

2. See R. G. Paulston, *Educational Change in Sweden.* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968). Because the Labor, Cooperative, et al, movements' folk high schools offered their own educational programs, working-class youth were able to secure their education "within their own class, in their own meetings, and in their own lectures." See p. 61. Contrast this situation with Britain, where bright working-class youth often received state grants to study in elite universities and not infrequently returned as "gentleman" leaders for working-class movements.

3. For a discussion of ideological bias in explanations of social and educational change, see my study, *Conflicting Theories of Social and Educational Change.* Pittsburgh: Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1976.

4. See, for example, Lars Furuland's provocative and informative study of folk high school contributions to the Labor-cum-Fok Movement in Sweden, *Folkhögskolan: En bildningsväg för svenska författare.* Stockholm: Tema, 1971.

PART 1

Rationale and Theoretical Framework

Folk Colleges and Change from Below

R. G. Paulston and G. LeRoy

There is a significant area of nonformal or out-of-school educational activity, international in locus, that receives little if any notice in the educational policy and planning literature. This is the rich experience of nonformal education (NFE) programs created by groups seeking to alter socioeconomic relations with dominant social segments and by groups pressing for ethnic revival and resistance to acculturation. These "liberating" nonformal education programs are not historical accidents. Rather, they alone, by advancing competing ideologies in marked contrast to the conformity of formal schools, have contributed to numerous collective efforts seeking and affecting significant changes in social structures and social relations.

In this chapter we present a rationale for the study of such folk colleges and related educational activities operating within a variety of social and ethnic movements. To do this, we attempt: (1) to summarize and criticize the prescriptive literature relating to "nonformal education" in the context of national development; (2) to offer reasons for the restricted range of uses commonly suggested for "nonformal education"; and (3) to present and document an alternative set of uses for nonformal education which, while historically and currently important, are commonly neglected in schemes purporting to show how nonformal education can most effectively facilitate development processes.

For our present purposes, we shall define nonformal education, following Coombs,[1] as "any organized, systematic educational activity outside the framework of the formal [school] system [designed] to provide selective types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children." NFE is to be distinguished both from formal and informal education. *Formal education* is synonymous with what we commonly call "schooling"; that is, "the highly institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured 'education system' spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university," while *informal education* is a residual category that would include all learning not associated with either formal or nonformal educational activities. It is "the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment . . . Generally, informal education from the media, the family, and peer group, et al., is unorganized and unsystematic; yet it accounts for the great bulk of any person's lifetime learning—including that of even a highly 'schooled' person."

NFE as an "ideal type" differs both from formal and informal education on some important dimensions. These include, but are not limited to, costs, structure, instructional methods, linkages with the occupational structure, and nature of rewards.[2] The growing interest in nonformal educational projects and programs among educators, social scientists, and, especially, bilateral and multilateral development agencies derives largely from these modal differences. Increasingly, scholars and practitioners have come to view the characteristics of NFE as rendering it a practical means of overcoming a variety of obstacles to economic and social development. While it is not our purpose to enumerate these hurdles, a brief summary of them in terms of their origin will help clarify our argument.

In this regard, the educational experiences of folk colleges in Scandinavian and North American social and ethnic movements become valuable case material to further our theoretical and policy concerns and questions. Is, for example, NFE most effective in the context of collective efforts toward change, or as a type of personal capital formation in the manpower-market view? Which movement contexts would seem to support the most effective pedagogical programs? How might study of the political economy of social movement education help us to understand better the potentials of such programs to contribute to movement goals and participants' dreams? These and many other research questions follow from a reexamination of NFE that views human development and economic development as equally important concerns. And as we have attempted to demonstrate, this research task in large part remains to be done.

The obstacles to development which NFE schemes have attempted to alleviate can be subsumed roughly under three general sources. The first two of these relate directly to formal schooling, and may be termed "functional" and "logistical" problems respectively. The third relates to fundamental changes in the concept of "national development" that have taken place roughly in the last decade.

"Functional" problems are those resulting from the ways in which schools actually operate in their social and cultural milieu. The traditional liberal mythology surrounding schools—which holds that they are liberating, egalitarian institutions capable of uplifting depressed groups and spearheading change and development—has been sharply criticized both philosophically—through the work of such writers as Illich[3] and Carnoy[4]—and empirically—largely through the application of ethnographic techniques to schools as institutions operating in the context of a wider community.[5]

"Logistical" problems associated with the provision of schooling in developing nations have been graphicaly documented by Coombs.[6] Governmental attempts to provide massive quantitative increases in formal schooling have been counterbalanced by rapidly increasing school-age populations and skyrocketing costs. Today it is not unusual for developing nations to devote 25 percent and more of their annual budgets to the formal education system.[7] Such budgets are strained to the point where all available resources capable of being allocated to schooling are being used. Yet in spite of this effort, school systems continue to accommodate, with moderate increases, roughly the same percentage of the school-age population which has been served in the past, while the distribution of schooling continues to favor the urban populaton and the relatively well-to-do.

In addition to the functional and logistical crises associated with the provision of formal schooling, changes in our conception of "national development"—what it should aim at and how the necessary changes should take place—have added a growing sense of urgency to the search for low-cost educational supplements and alternatives to formal schools.

Concepts of Development

Until quite recently, "development" has been viewed almost exclusively as an economic phenomenon. A nation was thought to be "progressing" if its gross national product grew at a "satisfactory" rate, and the cardinal objective of development was to maximize the GNP. When this goal was operationalized in national development plans, it usually meant that the top priority in resource allocation became the rapid development of a narrow, urban-industrial, capital-intensive exchange economy and the expansion of enterprises that would support it, such as mining and the mechanized cultivation of export crops. The educational sector, simultaneously, was geared up to provide the middle- and high-level manpower to sustain economic growth. School curricula have traditionally been "academic," with a recent trend—reflecting development priorities—toward "polytechnic" offerings. Everywhere the lower levels of the educational ladder have been designed to produce graduates capable of meeting the requirements of the next highest level. Thus university and secondary school curricula have been largely linked to the needs of the narrow industrial exchange economy, while the primary school offerings have for the greatest part reflected the requirements of the secondary school. The resulting academic nature of the primary school curriculum has thus often proven to be detrimental for the vast majority of students who are deselected from the system without proceeding to some form of post-primary schooling.

A notable and growing discrepancy in many developing countries between the narrow elite which has benefited from development and the mass which has not can no longer be ignored.[8] After several decades of development assistance, it has become apparent that intervention seeking economic development in contexts of gross structural inequality has served largely to increase, reinforce, and legitimize inequalities. A number of social scientists and "developmentalists" have, accordingly, begun to rethink the aims of "development" and to propose alternative intervention strategies. Johan Galtung, for example, has made a useful distinction between direct and structural violence. As a leading example of the new activism among social scientists and of the increasing dissatisfaction with the traditional maid-servant role of academics as described by Max Weber, Galtung sees his role as more than merely providing insights into the means of social change after politicians have defined the ends. Rather, he seeks active involvement in the "construction of, to put it quite bluntly and naively, a better world."[9] Galtung asks if we should accept feudalistic, authoritarian societies where there is, perhaps, little direct violence, but where members of large social groups are killed slowly by malnutrition, protein deficiency, lack of health facilities, and the like. Sharing the same maximizing "human potential" rationale for action against under development, Dudley Seers has also attempted to address the problem by giving first priority to attacks on structural violence, i.e., to the reduction of poverty and inequality and to "the realization of the potential of the human personality."[10]

Recently proposed development schemes have centered upon increasing the productivity of the masses, particularly the rural masses engaged in small agriculture or agricultural-support activities, and upon providing the social, economic, and physical amenities (such as clinics, markets, credit, and land reform) which would make greater productivity possible. It is argued that by enabling the great mass of people to participate more fully in generating national wealth, they will also be enabled to partake more equitably in its consumption. Such schemes are still primarily economic in focus, but the key priorities have been reversed. It is no longer assumed that the benefits of urban industrialization will automatically radiate outward from the cities to "capture" the rural mass—a major fallacy of GNP-centered growth schemes. Rather, it is now believed that by developing a nation's "human resource" base—by making the masses more effective producers and by raising their powers of consumption—the GNP will grow as a natural consequence, while many of the inequities following from former approaches will be eliminated.

Ecological Development Approaches

We shall refer to development policies—general or specific—which share these characteristics as "ecological" or functionalist approaches. They are ecological to the extent that they view "development" as a process which results from: (1) the upgrading and harmonious interaction of all production sectors, from the subsistence level to the industrial (this implies the maximum utilization of all "human resources" in production); and (2) the enforcement of structural changes in other, noneconomic sectors of the political economy (including education) which will enable the desired production increases to take place.

The educational component of ecological conceptions of development characteristically moves beyond mere exhortation for expansion or change in the formal school system. Typically, ecological approaches recognize the functional and logical crises which have beset the formal system. A "sector" approach to education is thus employed, which encompasses and recognizes the importance not only of "schooling" but of nonformal and informal, or unstructured, educational activities as well. Some ecological approaches to development advocate qualitative changes in school curricula, particularly at the primary level—changes aimed at making the curriculum more useful to the large majority of children who will terminate their formal schooling at, or upon graduation from, the primary level.[11] Almost all ecological schemes we have reviewed place greater emphasis upon the need to develop an integrated network of NFE projects and programs; these, it is proposed will meet a number of critical needs. They will serve as a substitute to schooling for those who do not have access to the formal system; they will supplement the limited formal education of those who have been pushed out of the system before gaining a functional command of the skills taught in school; and (perhaps most important to advocates of an ecological development approach) they can reach millions of underproductive adults and youths with a broad spectrum of skills geared to increasing their job productivity—skills incapable of being taught effectively in formal classroom settings.[12]

The "currency" of NFE continues to increase in value as the ecological approach becomes more widely accepted and as the "world educational crisis" becomes more acute. While we, too, subscribe to prescriptions for development which make possible the gradual amelioration of rural-urban discrepancies and which facilitate the more equitable distribution of national income, we believe that the continued economic emphasis embodied in ecological and "manpower" development schemes, and the corresponding value placed upon NFE as a key means of realizing national—largely economic—development priorities, tend to obscure an equally important function which NFE is capable of performing. We refer to the potential for locally initiated NFE programs to help facilitate the aims of collective movements seeking to negotiate new personal and collective identities and behaviors, or seeking to alter structural arrangements in order to alleviate specific perceived grievances.

A review of specific examples from the policy and planning literature of the uses and goals currently prescribed for NFE in the context of an ecological approach to development illustrates this orientation. Such a review follows. The ecological concept of national development, while superior to the narrow GNP-centered approach, is apparently not yet mature enough to encompass and accept the applications of nonformal education which are peripheral to, and perhaps antithetical to, nationally defined development priorities—despite the existence of such programs in the field.[13]

Review of the Literature

All literature reviews must be selective. The material we have chosen to criticize here is "prescriptive" in nature, i.e., it presents various strategies for applying NFE to facilitate development processes. We have omitted from our discussion any treatment of the great bulk of strictly descriptive material dealing with nonformal educational projects and programs. Typically, this material emphasizes technical and pedagogical questions—questions relating to project and program process—while neglecting the more basic problems of "rationale," such questions as, "Who defines the problems and needs?" "Who sets the goals?" and "Who benefits?" We have also limited our data by excluding materials from societies in, to use A. Wallace's categories, reactionary and revolutionary phases where pressure for strict ideological conformity would exclude the type of alternative educational program that we characterize here as "liberating" NFE. Accordingly, we are most concerned with NFE programs and potentials in what might be called "conservative-cum-liberal" or C/L" societies, and in those with internal colonies existing in such equilibrium states.

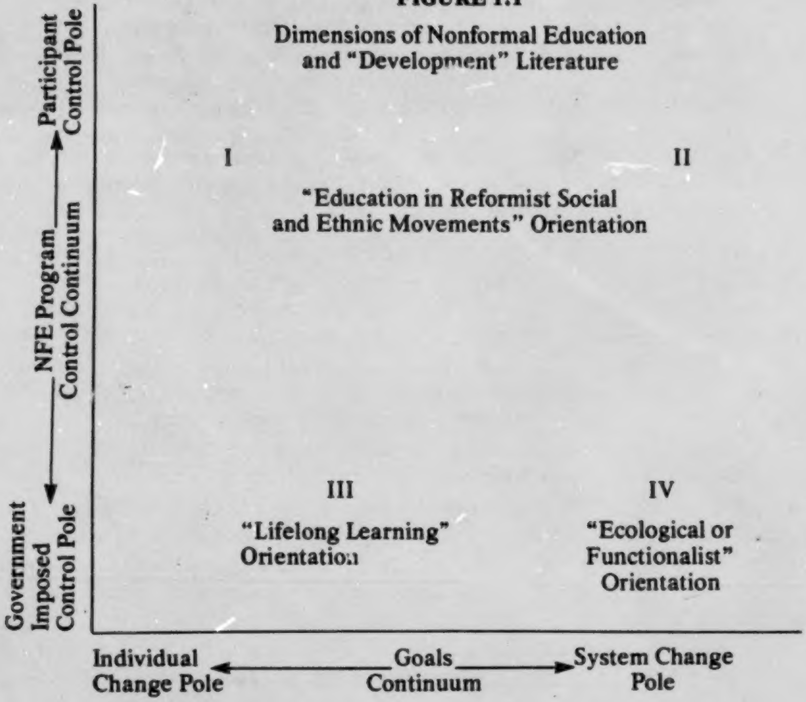
In an attempt to typologize our data, we have used two related dimensions: "goals" and "control," both grounded in the literature surveyed. In Figure 1.1, the dimension represented by the horizontal axis categorizes the prescriptive literature according to the kinds of goals which the advocates of nonformal education believe it should seek to fulfill. The continuum runs from those who view NFE primarily as instrumental in facilitating national—chiefly economic—development priorities, to those who see it as a vehicle to effect strictly individualistic attitudinal and behavioral changes. The vertical continuum indicates the degree to which those who actually "consume" nonformal education develop a competing ideology and control the programs in which they participate. The continuum runs from full participant control to completely imposed control by established political authority. The plane described by the intersection of these two dimensions provides a useful means by which the literature we shall review can be categorized.

Dimensions of Nonformal Education and "Development" Literature

A substantial majority of this literature clusters near the lower right quadrant. The heavy concentration of citations which appears here reflects the current popularity of the ecological approach to development described above. The works of Harbison[14] and Coombs[15] provide the best examples. It should be noted that there is no acknowledgement in the prescriptive literature of the role of nonformal education as a facilitator of developmental aims and of individual/social change defined *outside* the priorities set by the dominant idealogues in society. This lacuna has continued to exist despite the historical importance of nonformal educational schemes that would logically fall into these upper two quadrants.

FIGURE 1.1

Dimensions of Nonformal Education and "Development" Literature


Participant Control Pole
NFE Program Control Continuum
Government Imposed Control Pole
I
II
"Education in Reformist Social and Ethnic Movements" Orientation
III
"Lifelong Learning" Orientation
IV
"Ecological or Functionalist" Orientation
Individual Change Pole
Goals Continuum
System Change Pole

Nonformal Education in Government-Imposed National Development Plans

The "Human Resources" Approach of Frederick Harbison. The work of Harbison—most importantly his *Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations*—provides perhaps the most explicit set of policy guidelines for development of any recent scholarship which has attempted to generalize the process beyond specific national boundaries. Harbison describes "human resources" as "the energies, skills, talents and knowledge of people which are, . . . or should be, applied to the production of goods or rendering of services in an economy."[17]

Elsewhere, in describing the application of his "human resources" model to the development of African nations, he provides a useful summarization:

> The "human resources approach" . . . is a *perspective* from which to view national development policy, and as such is relevant but not subordinate to the perspective of increasing national income or GNP. While recognizing the importance of increasing the total material wealth of African nations, the human resources approach gives, in comparison with the strategy of increasing aggregate

> wealth as an end in itself, higher priority to the goals of full employment, more equitable income distribution as between the modern and traditional sectors and rural and urban populations, and relevant skill and knowledge development of the actual and potential labor force. The paramount goal of the human resource approach is to maximize the effective development and promote the fullest possible utilization of persons who are or potentially will be engaged in the production of useful goods and vital services in the emerging African nations.[18]

Clearly, Harbison views "human resources" here as a form of largely underexploited capital. Development, from a human resources perspective, requires a two-pronged strategy designed to maximize the skill and knowledge (through training) and the effective utilization (through the creation of jobs) of this "human capital." If these goals are pursued, claims Harbison, "then others such as economic growth, higher levels of living, and more equitable distribution of income are thought to be the likely consequences."

Organized learning, in the human resources perspective, takes place in an "educational sector" which transcends the formal school system and overlaps with other sectors of the political economy, such as agriculture and public health. Formal schools are not alone capable of providing the massive proliferation of "continuous recurrent learning opportunities . . . relevant to more productive employment" which is necessary to upgrade the quality of a nation's "human capital." Harbison criticizes formal schools as having "outstripped their budgetary limits"; as being "subject to the iron law of rising costs"; and, in some instances, of "excluding the uneducated from the process of modernization."[19] His treatment of the formal system acknowledges both the "functional" and "logistical" crises which we pointed out earlier. In the face of these constraints, Harbison attributes great importance to nonformal education in meeting a nation's new and vastly expanded knowledge and skill requirements. In several works he lays out the "actual or possible" functions of NFE and examines its uses in relation to formal schooling. The functions he identifies, and the examples he cites to illustrate them, are consistent with the emphasis upon maximizing individual productivity which is embodied in the human resources approach. These functions include: "(1) activities oriented primarily to development of the skill and knowledge of members of the labor force who are already employed; (2) activities designed primarily to prepare persons, mostly youth, for entry into employment; and (3) activities designed to develop skill, knowledge, and understanding which transcend the work world."[20] Elsewhere, Harbison proposes a more general set of functions which he compares to those of the formal schools:

> First, [nonformal education] provides a wide range of learning services which lie beyond the scope of formal education. . . .
>
> Second, nonformal training and education may be an alternative or substitute for formal education. . . .

> Third, nonformal education is a means of extending skills and knowledge gained in formal education. . . .
>
> Fourth, nonformal education in many countries may be the only available learning opportunity for large proportions of the population . . .
>
> Fifth, nonformal education may be one means of counter-balancing some of the distortion created by formal education . . . achievement-oriented nonformal education may provide the means for growing numbers of competent but "uncredentialed" people to higher-level jobs in the economy. . . .

And finally, "nonformal education often provides greater opportunity for innovation than centralized formal-education bureaucracies do."[21]

This second set of functions logically incorporates the first, and the examples Harbison provides indicate the strong economic bias of his model.

Throughtout his work, Harbison is quite clear on the point that a nation's educational priorities must articulate closely with its changing employment structure, and that this is best accomplished through sector-integrated national development planning. His model thus closely fits the two defining criteria of quadrant IV literature: Education—and here we refer specifically to nonformal education, since the formal system *always* meets these criteria—is (1) tied to nationally defined, chiefly economic, development aims, and (2) its implementation is controlled by those whose interests reflect these national aims, and not necessarily the interests of the "target populations." The human resources development model presumes a controlled, limited form of social change whose priorities are dictated and guided by establishment elites. NFE, controlled by these elites, also reflects their priorities. While widespread implementation of nonformal education would appear to enable individuals to increase their productivity and consumption, and thereby increase their standard of living in absolute terms, its use as a means of helping to alter basic structural and class relationships (i.e., social change as generated by groups whose ideology and/or "wants and needs"[22] differ from those represented by the "national plan") has been ignored, or rejected, by Harbison.

The feasibility of this model rests ultimately upon two assumptions which may or may not hold true in different developing nations. The first presumes that governments are benevolent and magnanimous enough to mandate the structural changes required to maximize the development and utilization of human resources; the second presumes that governments, if willing to adopt a human resources approach to development, are capable of doing so in the context of international dependency relationships. Frank and other dependency theorists have argued persuasively that they are not.[23]

Where either of these assumptions is violated, it is not likely that widespread implementation of nonformal education will take place, and where it does exist, it will often fail to bring about even the modest social mobility seemingly implicit in the human resources model.[24]

The "Rural Development"Approach of Philip Coombs. The work of Coombs with which we are concerned here includes three related studies, each linked conceptually with the others and each dealing with different aspects of rural development. The studies, entitled *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth, New Educational Strategies to Serve Rural Children and Youth,* and *Attacking Rural Poverty,*[25] employ a model of development which is not radically different from that of Harbison. Although Coombs's model utilizes different concepts, and identifies a slightly expanded set of priorities, both models are essentially addressed to increasing the productivity of the mass, and to ameliorating the striking differences which currently exist between the rapidly changing "modern" and the relatively stagnant "traditional" sectors in most developing nations.

While Harbison is concerned with overall national growth, Coombs focuses on rural development. Coombs assumes that it is the rural areas which have consistently reaped the fewest benefits from "modernization," and that the balanced development of a nation must be predicted upon the growth of its rural sector, and fundamentally upon the development of its agriculture. Coombs, more so than Harbison, adopts a "systems" perspective in examining rural growth, one which reflects the priorities of the "United Nations Second Development Decade."[26] Such a view, he explains:

> equates rural development with the far-reaching transformation of the social and economic structures, institutions, relationships, and processes in any rural area. It conceives of the goals of rural development not simply as agricultural and economic growth in the narrow sense but as *balanced* social and economic development, with emphasis on equitable distribution as well as creation of benefits. Among the goals are the generation of new employment; more equitable access to arable land; more equitable distribution of income; widespread improvements in health, nutrition, and housing; greatly broadened opportunities for all individuals to realize their full potential through education; and a strong voice for all rural people in shaping the decisions and actions that affect their lives. . . .
>
> It follows from this view that rural development calls for a massive and multi-pronged effort, not simply to boost production but to create and spread employment and to root out the fundamental causes of poverty, disease, ignorance, and injustice.[27]

An integral component of Coombs's "multi-pronged effort" is, of course, education. Coombs equates "education" with "learning" and proceeds to identify four types of educational or learning needs for rural development, the last three of which are most frequently embodied in NFE projects and programs. They are: (1) general or basic education—"what primary and general secondary schools seek to achieve"; (2) family improvement education—"designed primarily to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes useful in improving the quality of family life"; (3) community improvement education—"designed to strengthen local and national institutions in such matters as local and national government, cooperatives, community projects, and the like"; and (4) occupational education—"designed to develop particular knowledge and skills associated with various economic activities and useful in making a living."[28]

Coombs, like Harbison, is aware of the "functional" and "logistical" problems which constrain the provision and utility of formal schooling and which operate so dramatically in the rural areas. He therefore advocates an integrated approach to education which employs formal, nonformal, and informal institutions to meet these four general constellations of rural learning needs, but like Harbison, he is careful to add that education, "in the absence of other complementary factors, cannot precipitate rural development alone."

Coombs conceptualizes the role of NFE in rural development more broadly than does Harbison. *New Paths to Learning* and *New Educational Strategies to Serve Rural Children and Youth* move beyond the occupational focus, which concerns Harbison and which Coombs himself examines in *Attacking Rural Poverty,* to advocate NFE as a means of supplementing or substituting for formal schools, as well as to suggest it as a vehicle by which other chiefly noneconomic learning objectives—such as those represented by categories two and three above—can be facilitated. The broader range of applications for NFE which Coombs suggests (vis-a-vis Harbison) is consistent with his wider "systems" perspective on development. In spite of these differences, the two scholars do not differ substantially in their characterization of NFE in relation to the two dimensions we have chosen to study.

On several occasions Coombs notes the wisdom of taking the values, attitudes, and perceived needs of "target populations" into account when planning NFE schemes. His chief concern, however, is that nonformal education be linked closely to carefully integrated national development policy and plans. "Ideally," he suggests, "any nonformal education program aimed at promoting rural development should be planned within a framework of well-conceived national and rural-development strategies, policies, and priorities, adapted and elaborated to fit each area."[29] Coombs is not clear on the extent to which agendas for action should be negotiated with target groups, nor does he recommend strategies for dealing with target groups whose perceived needs represent a direct antithesis of the objectives of a proposed program of action. It appears that Coombs, while willing to concede the occasional necessity of negotiated compromise, does so upon the assumption that the cooperation of client groups—or at least the absence of hostility—is a requisite for successful program implementation. By advocating program flexibility, the "decentralization of authority and responsibility," and the preliminary assessment of the "special characteristics and realistic needs and interests of potential educational audiences,"[30] he is *not* thereby implying that the ideology, objectives, and goals of nonformal education should—or potentially *can*—deviate from those of the controlling political forces in society. Coombs thus falls near the "imposed" pole of our model's "control" dimension.

Where might Coombs be located with respect to the "goals" dimension of the model? We noted that the potential and actual functions he ascribes to nonformal education move beyond those suggested by Harbison. *New Paths to Learning* in particular prescribes and implies a range of functions which transcend the economic development concerns of studies representing the lower right side quadrant. At least two of the four types of rural learning needs identified earlier—"family improvement education" and "community improvement education"—could be considered largely noneconomic, and are perhaps more closely related to the self-realization of individuals than to national development concerns. Additionally, it could be argued that the substance of the formal school (which Coombs suggests should be transferred to nonformal educational institutions where formal schooling cannot be provided) is as necessary for the personal growth of the individual as it is for the development of a nation. Because Coombs advocates many uses of nonformal education, it is difficult to pinpoint his position on the "goals" dimension. The overall bias of his work, however, clearly places him closer to the "national (economic) development" pole than to the "personal self-realization" pole. He remains, nevertheless, somewhat less "national" than Harbison on the dimension. Coombs, we feel, is interested primarily in the top-down development of rural areas. Whatever personal self-realization takes place as a result of programming to meet collective goals is important, of course, yet represents only a single component of rural development viewed from a systems perspective.

The assumptions we identified around the "feasibility" of Harbison's model also apply here. Additionally, the approach to rural development outlined by Coombs presumes the same kind of social change implied by the human resources approach. It is change guided by the dominant political ideology, and thus reflects the "wants and needs" for the nation of those wielding real power within the system.

Several other recent policy papers laying out the possible and desired roles of nonformal education in development fall into this category. Generally, these are less explicit than either Harbison or Coombs in their treatment of the development concept. Nevertheless, one discerns in most of this literature an implied development model which resembles the "balanced" approach of both Harbison and Coombs. The treatment of the role of nonformal education in these "implied" development schemes is much more visible: the emphasis rests, to a greater or lesser degree, upon nonformal education as a relatively efficient means of providing the training to meet centrally defined, and rapidly changing, national economic development needs.

To describe these works in detail would not add substantially to our argument. The inquisitive reader is thus referred to the following pieces, with little further comment: (1) UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), "Fundamentals of Educational Planning" series;[31] (2) IIEP, *Planning Out-of-School Education for Development,*[32] (3) Cole Brembeck, *New Strategies for Educational Development;*[33] and, among others, the policies of the Women's Program Unit of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.[34] Each of these, with the exception of the last, is an anthology representing the ideas of several writers in the field. For this reason, one fails to discover the same tightly interwoven network of concepts and propositions which characterizes the work of Coombs and Harbison. Once these citations are stripped of their, for us, nonpertinent components, it is still no small task to pinpoint the location of this literature on our model. It is enough to point out that the material in question defines the goals of nonformal education chiefly in terms of the national development priorities represented by quadrant IV.

"Lifelong Learning": Nonformal Education in the Context of Personal Self-Realization with Control Imposed from Outside

We noted that only a small percentage of the prescriptive literature on NFE deals exclusively with the "personal enrichment" goals. While priorities here form a secondary component of most of the work we have reviewed thus far, it is doubtful that the developing nations to whom this prescriptive literature is primarily directed are capable of expending scarce resources on forms of NFE which are not perceived to have a relatively apparent "payoff" value from the standpoint of central development priorities. The obvious exception to this statement is NFE geared to the eradication of "residual" ideologies and to the inculcation of new personal value-sets through programmed resocialization and acculturation.

The work of Paul Lengrand,[35] in contrast, assumes a greater degree of control by the recipients of NFE services than does the "political socialization" prototype. His "lifelong learning" approach presents as a point of departure nine challenges facing modern man. These, Lengrand asserts, are unique to our historical epoch. If education systems are to prepare people to meet these challenges, they must break away from the traditional function of the school, which is to serve as a repository and transmitter of the accumulated wisdom of the past. Modern national education systems, while continuing to perform this function, must seek ways of linking the past to the present and future. Such systems must change as rapidly as man's needs change, for man can no longer "accomplish his lifespan with a given set of intellectual or technical luggage."

But formal schools cannot exist in a state of perpetual metamorphosis. Several "brakes," including their complex bureaucratic organization, their compulsive nature, and their tendency to produce conformity to centrally defined behavioral and ideological norms, operate to prevent the schools from changing as rapidly as they must. Hence the more flexible and innovative nonformal components of education systems must be geared up to do the work which the schools cannot or will not do.

Lengrand's suggested strategy for implementing "lifelong education"—a concept which views the major tasks of education systems as those of (1) developing in each individual a lifelong desire to learn and (2) providing the massive and diverse learning supports which would enable each individual to continue his education throughout life—is formulated at such an abstract conceptual level that it is difficult, and dangerous, to attempt to interpret his ideas at the operational level. It is virtually impossible to locate Lengrand with absolute assurance in any of the four quadrants described by the bisection of our "control" and "goals" dimensions. Again, we must finally resort to simply noting that Lengrand does *not* explicitly ascribe to nonformal education the role of facilitator of collective change initiated "from below." Rather, he is concerned with the universal dissemination of what we might call the tenets of liberal humanism. Like the contributors to the "Faure Report," he is often naive in his assumption that governments—even those of societies which can be characterized as conservative/liberal—will strive to impliment the principles of widespread participatory democracy which he advocates.

While neither Lengrand nor the other writers who view nonformal education as a means of achieving "the harmonious development of the individual in accordance with his character, ambitions and aptitudes" can be dismissed from a literature review which purports to examine important examples of the various expectations which scholars and practitioners maintain for nonformal education, they are of little further use to us. The prescriptive guidelines set forth by Lengrand in particular are simply too vague to be reconciled with a typology of the sort we have attempted to construct.[36]

Toward an Expanded Research Agenda for Nonformal Education

As indicated in the foregoing review, prescriptive NFE policy statements to date have been largely concerned with educational possibilities for the socialization/resocialization of disadvantaged groups and the offering of vocational skills to working-class youth and adults. As with formal schooling, this type of nonformal education encourages competition by offering individuals prospects for increased consumption and gains in social economic status. But when such programs take place in societies where opportunities for meaningful employment and social mobility are severely limited by elitist ideologies and structural rigidities, voluntary participation is often undermined by realistic peasant and worker assessment of who will benefit most from programs offered by management or government.

Such nonformal education programs proposed by "establishment" academics and planners and implemented by governments and international funding agencies have, as we have seen, been rooted in what Peter Rose describes as the "whole-to-part 'functionalist' orientation" of those who are able to set "the rules of the game."[37] Dominant elites will, of course, in any society seek to set standards for "good behavior," control "deviance," and reproduce advantageous relationships through control of knowledge and institutions.[37] In repressive and revolutionary settings it is usually the military and the police that are primarily responsible for conformity to imposed behavioral standards, while in C/L societies a good deal of this social control function is allocated to education in school and, increasingly, in the nonformal sector.

Given that most policy studies in nonformal education have been carried out under United States and Western European foundation, government, and international organizational sponsorship, it is not surprising that the "functionalist" world view and biases prodominate. From this perspective the problem becomes essentially: "How can nonformal education be used to support incremental improvements in resource production and allocation, to make existing societies, even if characterized by gross structural violence, more viable?" The answer has been in large part to blame the victims and to seek to make their behavior through schooling and training more "functional" in terms of elite expectations. Ideological bias and individual career interests of scholars also clearly play a part in accounting for the prevalence of this orientation as well as for the absence of work recognizing the consequences of structured social and economic inequality that might fall into this area.

Is it, on the other hand, possible that this lacuna might suggest evidence is lacking concerning nonformal education's potential as an action strategy beyond the functionalist attempts at "human resource development," individual manipulation, and social control. Can we, despite Carnoy's disclaimer, reasonably expect that nonformal education programs might also be created and controlled by those on the outside who view social development problems from a relational or a part-to-whole "conflict" orientation?[38]

Although largely ignored in the work reviewed here, there is a rich experience of nonformal education programs, both in North America and elsewhere, created in collective efforts to negotiate new identities and to alter significantly structured relations in C/L societies.[39] Many of these nonformal education efforts can only be seen as what AID calls "success stories." Others, in their attempts to gain political power and to influence the authoritative allocation of values (benefits, rewards, etc.), have been viewed as threatening to dominant elites and have ended in violence and repression.[40] It is our contention, nevertherless, that no matter what one's ideological bias might be, a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of nonformal educational functions in and contributions to social movements must become a NFE research priority if we are to understand the entire range of educational potentials for societal development.

This priority might be viewed from the standpoint of several needs for knowledge. One approach is to develop a conceptual framework drawing on social movement and collective behavior theory from sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and political science to explain why and how social and ethnic movements have developed nonformal education programs, such as folk high schools, as latent movement functions. Under what conditions has the phenomenon of nonformal education occurred in collective efforts toward social change? How have various functions—e.g., to train movement leaders, to strengthen solidarity and enhance self-esteem, to provide a supportive setting, to articulate movement goals and action strategies—related to manifest movement functions seeking to ease structural binds?[41]

We will also need to identify and classify examples of nonformal education programs as they have occurred over time in collective efforts by groups seeking to oppose acculturation, inequality, racism, economic exploitation, and structured violence in nonrevolutionary societies. Examples of what might be termed "liberating" nonformal education as exemplified by Paulo Freire's proposals, in contrast to the "conforming" programs that have been proposed and carried out by dominant idealogues to date, are fairly numerous, but little known or cited.[42] With comparative analysis, they may well help to indicate key variables influencing the creation, operation, and outcomes of liberating nonformal education programs. Such analysis might also lead to a better understanding of the limits of educational intervention in efforts for collective change, as well as help to identify the most significant environmental and movement influences on nonformal education program goals and processes when the teaching and learning is an integral part of a struggle for altered social, cultural, or economic relations.

It might at this point be helpful to note a number of examples of what we view as "liberating" nonformal education programs that have been embedded in social class, ethnic, and a variety of other collective efforts. Each of these movements sought to create alternative educational settings where relatively deprived or "deviant" groups competing for power could create and shape nonformal education to help articulate their problems and dreams, and occasionally their strategies for action as well.

NFE Examples in Social and Ethnic Movements

Nonformal education programs in social class movements have tended to occurr in situations where: (1) emerging social class elements (i.e., farmers or workers) are contesting what they view as oppressive restrictions on their growing aspirations for power and participation; and (2) relative ethnic homogeneity and corporative traditions of social organization enable dominant social elements to tolerate the creation of lower- and lower-middle class movement ideologies and alternative institutions.[43] A number of social scientists are beginning to ask closely related questions about the emergence of competing ideologies in social class movements. Juan J. Linz, for example, in his manuscript "Farmers and Peasant Parties"[44] asks "under what conditions we find the emergence of distinct parties with an exclusively or at least predominantly rural appeal not easily identifiable with the typical ideological and policy alignments of the rest of the country?" See his "general proposition . . . to explain the phenomenon of agrarian parties," many of which comprise the political arm of farmer movements.

The Scandinavian folk movement offers perhaps the most telling examples of alternative nonformal education programs created by folk/farmer/working-class movements. Many of these so-called popular education programs did much to make possible the folk movements' eventual rise to political dominance in the 1930s and their sweeping programs of welfare state reconstruction after World War II.[45] Folk high schools, beginning in the 1840s in Denmark and later in Norway, Sweden, and Finland, each winter offered residential adult education programs of one or two years to rural youth with some elementary schooling and work experience. Because the folk high schools stood apart from the formal education system preparing middle- and upper-class youth for the gymnasium, the university, and elite roles, they have been able to offer a wide variety of quasi-nonformal education courses from general adult education to social movement education programs seeking to further the peaceful reorientation and reconstruction of Scandinavian societies.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, for example, farmers first used folk high schools to prepare their sons for employment opportunities in new rural public schools and libraries and for leadership in protracted struggles for greater economic and political power. By the turn of the century, these efforts and the related creation of dairy cooperatives made it possible for the Danish smallholder's movement to create its own NFE folk high schools in their long and successful struggle for land reform.

In Norway and Finland folk high school programs in national revival movements of the late 1800s and early 1900s struggled to legitimize national folk culture and break the grip of foreign cultural domination. The Norwegian folk movement rejected Danish cultural elitism and sought legal acceptance of peasant dialects. Finnish folk high schools before World War I cautiously worked to strengthen and advance the emergence of Finnish culture and the nationalist movement as steps towards breaking the bonds of Swedish cultural and Russian political domination.[46]

In Sweden the folk movement used a variety of NFE programs in its eventually successful efforts to gain political dominance and bring its egalitarian ideology to bear on such selective elitist institutions as the Parliament, the church, the army, the schools, etc. Folk high schools, correspondence courses, study circles, encampments, and the like all served to strengthen ideological commitments, to advance the goals of sponsoring labor, temperance, free church, and other folk-popular movements.

The contributions of such nonformal and quasi-formal education programs to the election of Social Democratic governments is well documented. A majority of the folk movement leadership had been prepared in the folk high schools and other "popular" nonformal education programs. And because many movement members also attended, the contributions of nonformal education to enhancing skills, self-esteem, and solidarity of purpose of both leaders and rank-and-file members alike have been substantial.[47]

In the United States and Canada, in contrast, the relative absence of social class ethos, class solidarity, and overt class conflict has meant that nonformal education programs in farmer and worker movements evidence greater concern for removing obstacles to middle-class status and consumption patterns. When labor in the United States finally gained the legal right to organize and bargain with management on wages and working conditions, nonformal educational programs supporting the labor movement stopped talking about injustice and the need to struggle and shifted their concerns to teaching technical skills.[48] In Canada, impoverished wheat farmers created youth and adult education programs in nonformal folk schools in the 1930s to teach the principles and practices necessary to support their struggle to develop wheat pools or cooperatives. These folk school programs ended in the early 1960s when farmers, farm youth, and urban wholesalers accepted the viability of the new cooperative institutions and the correspondingly altered economic and social relationships.[49] These are only a few examples of how social class movements in nonrevolutionary Western nations have been able to use nonformal education to reduce dependence and to improve their position in relation to more priviledged groups. Where, in C/L societies, structural violence and extreme structured inequality continue within internal colonies, as in Appalachia, social class movements will continue to offer potential for the creation of the "fighting folk college" variant of nonformal education programs.[50]

Ethnic movements offer equally fertile settings for the creation of "liberating" nonformal education programs. Ethnic groups resisting acculturation and/or seeking cultural revitalization[51] and attempting to redefine "who we are," as well as "proper" relations with the dominant society, often initially attempt to make formal schools more responsive to their new goals and awareness. But as formal schools in equilibrium-state societies are highly "functionalist" and acculturative, members of ethnic revival movements often become resigned to the need for full control of the content and style of their children's schooling.

In the 1930s and 1940s, for example, Kikuyu organizations, after failing to influence missionary schools, created their own nonformal education programs in what has been called the Kenya "school" movement.[52] Rejecting missionary schooling as a direct threat to the "very fabric and continued existence of Kikuyu society," Kikuyu-controlled programs offered a curriculum more relevant to the group's perceived needs for economic and political education, and for cultural survival.

In the United States, Americans of African descent have used nonformal and quasi-NFE programs in a variety of social change and cultural revitalization efforts. These include leadership, literacy training, and voter registration education in the civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s; Black Muslim school and community programs seeking separatist rather than integrationist ends; and the Black Panther educational programs for ghetto children where free breakfasts and a curriculum advocating "off the pigs" had clearly revolutionary aspirations.[53]

Native Americans in the United States and Canada have increasingly rejected formal schools representing mainstream values and biases. Although efforts to put their own nonformal education programs into operation have often been undercut by powerlessness, poverty, and opposition from mainstream institutions and citizens, Indian-controlled nonformal education efforts are presently burgeoning and offer excellent opportunities to study the dynamics of both formal and nonformal modes of education in ethnic movement settings. Programs evidencing the greatest success seem to be those controlled by the more independent tribal councils and by various combinations of community and Indian movement leaders, as in the American Indian Movement's "survival school" at St. Paul, Minnesota.[54]

For those who desire a better understanding of educational and social change processes, potentials, and constraints, it would seem that the types of "liberating" nonformal education programs noted here offer valuable, albeit infrequent and generally nonreproduceable, examples of how a rather special type of educational program has been able to facilitate the sort of opportunities for collective struggle, growth of individual awareness, and resource allocation called for by broader conceptions of national-cum-societal development.

It seems quite likely that Carnoy's prescription of social revolution as a prerequisite for development is no more realistic than Coombs's exhortation for elite-dominated education to reverse its basic function of reproduction and control and "attack" structured inequality. Formal schooling in conservative/liberal societies will no doubt continue to reproduce social and economic relations and minimize deviance, and so too will the vast majority of nonformal educational programs. Thus if one seeks to ascertain under what conditions educational programs can significantly contribute to structural change in conservative/liberal societies, the most fertile area for inquiry will be, we contend, in those large-scale collective social class and ethnic efforts using alternative NFE programs.[55]

These and other examples, moreover, may help us to understand better the limitations on nonformal education and participation in conservative/liberal societies. We should also be aware that the liberating nonformal educational model cannot simply be superimposed on people with problems. Frank Adams of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee has explained in this regard why the Highlander nonformal education center has been able with notable success to help labor, cooperative, civil rights, and other movements in the southern United States create their own nonformal educational programs since 1932:

> Learn from the people and start education where they are: when people find themselves in a bind, they will usually try to figure a way out through social action; avoid indoctrination and discipline; seek to release the potential and energies of the poor—not the relief of their problems. Highlander has never helped people "get adjusted" to poverty or to tolerate powerlessness. . . . Highlander has found that no "expert" or book can deal with problems of poor people as effectively as the people themselves.[56]

Movement-controlled nonformal education as perhaps best exemplified by movement-controlled folk colleges, is in sum, a little-studied or understood type of out-of-school education with great potential, if much limited replicability, to help people with problems work for change. But as we learn more of the relative effectiveness of formal schools and most top-down nonformal education programs in coopting protest and in helping to maintain and legitimize highly inequitable situations, the possibilities for alternative educational programs to serve liberating and not merely adjustive or social-control ends can only be seen as highly limited. But if one seeks to find education that does more than legitimize and reinforce gross inequalities in life chances, then one must look outside formal schools to the educational activities of reformist collective efforts seeking individual and social renewal. This task of rethinking priorities for research on NFE experiences as a consequence of attempts to reconceptualize societal development has only just begun. In this, we contend, the need is not simply to replace the primacy of the whole with that of the part, but rather to create a more fruitful dialectic between functionalist and conflict perspectives so as to advance both understanding of educational phenomena and of linked possibilities for more equitable life chances.

NOTES

1. The threefold distinction between "formal," "nonformal," and "informal" education utilized here is developed in several works by Philip Coombs. We have quoted here from his work, *Attacking Rural Poverty* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1974). For a discussion of modal-defining characteristics re non-formal and formal education, see R. Paulston, *Non-Formal Education* (New York: Praeger Special Studies in International Economics and Development, 1972). See also "Nonformal Education: A Symposium," *Comparative Education Review*, 20:3 (October, 1976) 278-367.

2. A more comprehensive examination of the modal differences between formal and nonformal education is presented by A. Callaway, "Frontiers of Out-of-School Education," in Cole Brembeck, ed., *New Strategies for Educational Development* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1973); and R. G. Paulston, "Non-Formal Educational Alternatives," in ibid.

3. See Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

4. See Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, 1974).

5. Cultural anthropologists have displayed a growing interest in recent years in the study both of educational processes and institutions. Schools have been reconceptualized as discreet cultural and social subsystems existing within and interacting with wider sociocultural environments. An excellent ethnography which incorporates this perspective is J. Ogbu, *The Next Generation* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). See also Douglas E. Foley, "Anthropological Studies of Schooling in Developing Countries: Some Recent Findings and Trends," *Comparative Education Review* 21 (June/October 1977):311-28.

6. See Philip Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

7. For a country-by-country and regional breakdown of expenditures on schooling, see UNESCO, "Educational Policy, Legislation and Administration," *World Survey*, Vol. 5, 1971. See also UNESCO's *Statistical Yearbook* (Paris, annually).

8. A. O. Hirschman, "The Changing Tolerance for Income Inequality in the Course of Economic Development," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 87 (November 1973):544-62. Hirschman warns that "a drastic reassessment of values in the study of economic and political development is forced upon us by a series of 'development disasters.'" See also D. Goulet, *The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer* (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1977).

9. For a lucid statement of Galtung's argument that social scientists must move beyond the limited equation of scientific activity with empiricism—a past-looking orientation—to at least equal concern with "social critique of the present (criticism) and with presentation of proposals, often whole blueprints, for the future (constructivism)," see Johan Galtung, "Peace Research Takes Sides," *Peace News* 28 (January 1972).

10. See Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," *ADC Reprint* (New York: Agricultural Development Council, September 1970); and the argument that "equity can be efficient," by J. P. Grant, "Growth From Below: A People-Oriented Development Strategy" (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, Development Paper 16, 1973) 32 pp.

11. A most dramatic policy statement, illustrating the need for qualitative changes in formal school curricula and organization, comes from Tanzania. See J. Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," in J. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). For a penetrating analysis of current educational change problems and potentials in developing countries, see J. Simmons, "Education, Poverty and Development" (Washington, D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Working Paper No. 188, February 1974), 69 pp., mimeo.; and R. G. Paulston, *Changing Educational Systems: Under What Conditions?* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978).

12. An expanded treatment of these functions of nonformal education can be found in Frederick Harbison, *Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 80-83.

13. For examples of nonformal education programs in Latin American "grassroots" change efforts see the Inter-American Foundation *Annual Report 1977* (Washington, D.C.: The Foundation, 1978). Other examples are presented in subsequent chapters of this book.

14. See Harbison, *Human Resources;* also Frederick Harbison, *A Human Resource Approach to the Development of African Nations and Education Sector Planning for Development of Nationwide Learning Systems* (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, 1973).

15. See Coombs; also Philip Coombs, *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth* (New York: International Council for Education Development, 1973).

16. See Paul Lengrand, *An Introduction to Lifelong Learning* (Paris: UNESCO, 1970); and Edgar Faure et al., *Learning to Be (Paris: UNESCO, 1972).*

17. Harbison, Human Resources, p. 3.

18. Harbison, *Human Resource Approach* p. 23.

19. Harbison's most comprehensive critique of formal schooling appears in "Critical Issues in Formal Education," in Harbison, *Human Resources*, ch. 3.

20. Harbison, *Human Resource Approach*, p. 11.

21. Harbison, *Human Resources*, pp. 80-82.

22. W. Goodenough has distinguished between a group's "wants"—i.e., its desired "state of affairs" or the set of social-structural relationships it seeks—and the group's "needs"—the means it deems appropriate to securing its "wants." See W. Goodenough, *Cooperation in Change* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963).

23. See A. G. Frank, "Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology," in J. Cockcroft, A. G. Frank and D. Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1972), pp. 321-98.

24. In a recent study of office workers and manual workers, T. J. La Belle found that formal schooling had a considerable impact on income, while NFE had little or no impact because of reward structures in the three industries employing the sample. See T. J. La Belle, *The Impact of Non-Formal Education on Income in Industry: Cindad Guayama, Venezuela* (Los Angeles: Latin American Center, University of California, 1974); and his *Educational Alternatives in Latin America: Social Change and Social Stratification* (same publisher, 1975).

25. See notes 1 and 15.

26. The 1970s have officially been designated the UN's "Second Development Decade" by its Economic and Security Council, largely to perpetuate the emphasis on third world modernization and change mandated by the policies developed in conjunction with the "First Development Decade" of the 1960s.

27. Coombs, *Attacking Rural Poverty*, pp. 13-14.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

30. Coombs addresses the need for program flexibility, decentralization of authority, and assessment of "realistic" local priorities in "Planning, Organization, Management, and Staffing," in his *Attacking Rural Poverty*, ch. 12. See also the study by Ahmed Manzoor, a collaborator of Coombs, *The Economics of Nonformal Education: Resources Costs, and Benefits* (New York: Praeger, 1975); and Manzoor and Coombs, eds., *Education for Rural Development: Case Studies for Planners* (New York: Praeger, 1975).

31. Paris: UNESCO. At least twenty-one pamphlets make up this series, of which only some proved relevant to our purposes. These included V. L. Griffiths, "The Problems of Rural Education," 1968; and G. M. Coverdale, "Planning Education in Relation to Rural Development," 1974.

32. Paris: UNESCO, 1972.

33. See note 2.

34. Women's Program Unit of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, "Out-of-School Education for Women in African Countries," *Convergence* 6, Nos. 3 and 4 (1973):7-16.

35. See Lengrand, *Lifelong Learning*. All quotes relating to Lengrand are from this citation.

36. In a trenchant critique, the adult educator J. Ohlinger views Faure's *Learning to Be* as "just another example of bureaucratic expertise" by agents of government who explicitly assume "the fundamental solidarity of governments with people." Rather than the "learning society" called for by Faure and others which he views as "really a training society ruled by educators," Ohlinger calls for (1) a world "safe from lifelong education," and suggests that (2) "outside the establishment or at its fringes, we need to work with individuals and groups who are moving toward an awareness of political and economic oppression and are acting against it." See J. Ohlinger, "Is Life-Long Education a Guarantee of Permanent Inadequacy?" *Convergence* 7, No. 2, (1974):47-59.

37. See Peter Rose's foreword in R. A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (New York: Random House, 1970).

38. In a dependency theory critique of development education prescriptions for the poor countries, Carnoy rejects what he views as Coombs's belief that "through a combination of technology, nonformal training, foreign aid, and national will, it is possible to provide everyone with a level of schooling sufficient to secure a decent job." For Carnoy, schools and NFE programs as well cannot be liberating institutions where students are transformed from traditional to modern individuals. Rather, he contends that "the transformation that takes place in school cannot be liberating because a person is simply changed from one role in a dependent system to a different role." Thus, he reasons that " the only way to achieve development and a new national culture is through a national struggle for liberation from domination," and that "the absence of struggle, or even of participation by the colonized masses preclude the possibility of forming liberated cultural forms." He fails to note, however, that where such struggles have been tolerated in social movements in nonrevolutionary societies, the nonformal education mode alone has been able to help such groups in quasi-revolutionary orientation seeking to minimize dependent relationships. See Martin Carnoy's review of Philip Coombs's *The World Educational Crisis*, *Harvard Educational Review* 44 (February 1974):178-87.

39. Although essentially functionalist in its concern for a more "efficient" fit between NFE programs and existing reward systems, Marvin Grandstaff's "Non-formal Education and an Expanded Conception of Development," Discussion Paper No. 1 (East Lansing, Mich.: Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1973) is a partial exception. He proposes the examination of case studies of NFE programs in, for example, "the formation of societies that might be classified as 'rurally developed,'" and how, as in Scandinavia, Cuba, etc., NFE efforts may have variously contributed.

40. Conspicuous failures of NFE programs seeking new social and economic relations have most frequently taken place in societies moving from a C/L to a repressive phase as in much of Western and Eastern Europe in the 1930s, in the United States in the 1950s, and in South Africa and Chile today. Specific examples of why NFE programs in social movements fail can be found in Rolland G. Paulston, *Folk Schools in Social Change* (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1973). See also Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974); and R. and C. Koch, *Educational Commune: The Story of Commonwealth College* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), for two highly illustrative case studies.

41. For a provocative theoretical frame that views collective behavior for structural change in terms of "structural binds," see F. L. Tullis, *Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970). S. B. Sarasan, *The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972), offers valuable insights into possibilities for alternative NFE programs seeking to gain and use power for altered social relations.

42. Although Paulo Freire elaborates a detailed pedagogical mode, he says little about the equally important question of how such NFE programs can be created and supported through collective action. See, for example, Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974).

43. Structural flexibility, or the degree to which deprived or alienated groups are allowed to affiliate voluntarily with instrumental organizations, is clearly a necessary condition for "liberating" NFE programs. See E. A. Havens, "Quest for Societal Development," in G. M. Beal et al., eds., *Sociological Perspectives of Domestic Development* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1971), pp. 70-93. Conditions facilitating interest group conflict in industrial societies are discussed in R. Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959). For a highly original example from Sicily, see Danilo Dolci, "Mafia-Client Politics" *Saturday Review* (July 6, 1968):51.

44. New Haven, Conn.: The Institute for Advanced Study, Yale University, 1974.

45. For a critically annotated bibliography of materials on the folk high school model in a variety of adaptations and national settings, see R. Paulston, *Folk Schools in Social Change,* and the chapters that follow.

46. J. H. Wuorinen, *Nationalism in Modern Finland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 154-69.

47. See R. Lund, ed., *Scandinavian Adult Education* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1959); P. Manniche, ed., *Rural Development and the Changing Countries of the World* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969); J. Kulich, "The Danish Folk High School: Can It Be Transplanted? The Success and Failure of the Danish Folk High School at Home and Abroad," *International Review of Education* 10 (1964):417-28; and R. Sandler, "Freedom and Control in Popular Education," *American Scandiniavian Review* 25 (1937):26-27. As Scandinavian societies have eliminated most forms of structured social inequality, social class movements have had less recourse to what might be viewed as "fighting" folk high schools. Two remaining examples are Den Rode, a Marxist folk high school at Svenborg, Denmark, and the *Same* (Lapp) at Jokkmokk, Sweden. See Rolland G. Paulston, "Ethnic Revival and Resistance to Acculturation: the Struggle for the Lapp's Folk High School," presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Mexico City, Mexico, 1974; and B. Ostlund, "Samernas folkhogskola och Samerna," *Tidskrift for Svenska Folkhogskolan* 54 (1973):285-88.

48. See J. W. Robinson, "Effects of the Social and Economic Environment on Workers' Education: U.S. and British Examples," *Adult Education* 19, No. 3 (1969):172-85; and K. D. Carlson, "Labor Education in America," *Review of Educational Research* 41 (April 1971):115-30. Carlson contends that American labor education, as with the trade union movement, "was born out of Gomperism and pragmatism, not Marxism and Fabianism. The Social Unionism of the 1930s was only an interlude in the business unionism dominant throughout most of United States history."

49. See J. K. Friesen, "The Wheat Pools Also Educate," *Food for Thought* (December 1950): 8-14; and R. Meyers, *Spirit of the Post Road: A Story of Self-Help Communities* (Altona, Manitoba: The Federation of Southern Manitoba Cooperatives, 1955).

50. Examples in Canada and the United States are noted in Rolland G. Paulston, "Folk Schools and 'Poor Peoples' Education," *Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter* 4 (July 1973): 7-8. For a more theoretical treatment offering insights into possible educational contributions to ethnic groups or movements actively resisting acculturation, see E. H. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," *Science* 174 (November 19, 1971):795-800; and R. O. Clemmer, "Truth, Duty, and the Revitalization of Anthropologists: A New Perspective on Cultural Change in Resistance," in D. Hymes, ed., *Reinventing Anthropology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974):214-250. Clemmer argues that "ideology is the more important component of a concerted effort to force acculturation on a subordinate society and is equally crucial to the concerted movement to thwart that effort, whether that movement is resistance to acculturation, revitalization, or revolution. An ideology of resistance is formed when one group of people causes certain fundamental beliefs to become the focal point for a social movement by another group of people— dissatisfied people" (pp. 222-23). Clemmer's contentions are supported in a Scandinavian example of attempts to articulate ideology and educational programs to support Lappish cultural revitalization efforts. See, for example, A. Kung. *Samemakt!: Valfard till dods eller kulturellt folkmord?* [*Lapp Power!: Welfare to Death or Cultural Genocide?*] (Stockholm: Tema, 1970).

51. Leading American Indian Educators at the Sixth Annual Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, November 1974, argued: "If Indians had gained control of their education ten years ago, we would have seen greater gains....educational programs in public schools are not geared to Indian culture and philosophy....Indians lack control over curriculum, teacher training, and budgets....if Indians are to retain their culture, we must set our own policies" (*The New York Times*, November 17, 1974, p. 33).

52. See R. D. Heyman et al., *Studies in Educational Change* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), pp. 107-34.

53. See, *inter alia*, S. F. Lawson, *Black Votes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); and I. Shalaby and J. C. Chilcott, *The Education of a Black Muslim* (Tucson: Impresora Sahuaro, 1972).

54. In 1973 the American Indian Movement (AIM) started the Red School House in St. Paul, Minnesota. With close ties to the Indian community, the school seeks to advance "equality for Native Americans through self-determination." It is "an Indian alternative to education... which stresses Indian participation and control, inclusion of Indian culture studies, and attitudinal change toward increased self-confidence and self-pride as Indian people." See "The Red School House: A Native American Survival School," Information Packet, 1974. Also see *Akwesasne Notes* 4 (Spring 1973):18-19, for articles on the Mohawk Nation "Indian Way School" and "DQU" where "a year ago, a group of Indians and Chicanos occupying an abandoned Army communication station were given the deed to the land to develop their own educational institution....It has begun to flower despite criticism and skepticism." Indications of new organizational support for Indian nonformal education programs and schools are clear in "Indians Work for Indians," *Wassaja* 2 (September 1974). It announces that "The coalition of Indian-controlled School Boards was founded in 1972 and then consisted of four Indian-controlled schools. Present membership totals 143 Indian schools....CICSB has been involved in teacher-training fellowship programs, fiscal management training workshops, and general membership meetings." Four alternative "Indian Education" programs seeking "the revitalization" of Native American Youth in "mind, heart, and spirit" are described in "The War On Our Children: Schools In the Colonization Process," *Akwesasne Notes* 10 (Early Spring 1978):4-8.

55. W. Smith, "Non-Formal Alternatives to Schooling for the World's Minorities," in *Minority Education in Global Perspective: Proceedings of the World Education Workshop at the University of Connecticut* (Storrs, Conn.: School of Education, University of Connecticut, 1972), pp. 87-89.

56. See F. Adams, "Highlands: Education for Life and Living," *Peoples Appalachia* 1 (Spring 1971):27-38. See also F. Adams, "Highlander Folk School: Getting Information, Going Back, and Teaching It," *Harvard Educational Review* 42 (November 1972):497-502; and F. Adams with Miles Horton, *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: J. F. Blair, 1975). The most comprehensive and conceptually focused account of Highlander's NFE programs and contribution is found in the exemplary dissertation of A. I.

Horton, "The Highlander Folk School: A History of the Development of Its Major Programs Related to Social Movements in the South, 1952-1961" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1971). For an interesting alternative analysis throwing light on potentials for nonformal education in efforts to mobilize poor people, see, for example, S. B. and J. Vantil, "The Lower Classes and the Future of Inequality," *Growth and Change* 4 (January 1973):10-16. The authors contend that neither the "culture of poverty" nor the "blocked opportunity" nor "situational" hypotheses prove to be empirically accurate or theoretically useful, and instead propose "adaptive drift" as a concept combining lower-class "notions of biculturalism, openness, and adaptation to socioenvironmental circumstances , , ,an openness to the possibility of acts that are defined as delinquent by the official representatives of society and other behaviors not simply reflecting inadequacy of income or opportunity, but rather the consequence of their marginal position at the bottom of the stratification hierarchy" (p. 14). The success of "client"-dominated nonformal education programs at Highlander is especially instructive in contrast to the general failure of government-sponsored efforts to mobilize the poor and culturally different into middle-class-dominated voluntary associations and social reform programs. The evidence is extensive and convincing. See L. A. Zurcher, "The Leader and the Lost: A Case Study of Indigenous Leadership in a Poverty Program Community Action Committee," *Genetic Psychology Monographs* 76 (August 1967):23-93; W. Grove and H. Costner, "Organizing the Poor: An Evaluation of a Strategy," *Social Science Quarterly* 50 (December 1969):643-56 ("In the long run, organization of the poor may be most effective if their participation is viewed in terms of its instrumental contributions to goal achievement, rather than in terms of its socioemotional contributions to psychological change" [pp. 655-56]); and, *inter alia*, J. Helfgot, "Professional Reform Organizations and the Symbolic Representation of the Poor," *American Sociological Review* 39 (August 1974):475-91. For an insightful analysis of social movement origins, dynamics, problems of elite control and cooptation, and possibilities for success and failure, as well as dilemmas of future movements, see R. E. Roberts and R. M. Kloss, *Social Movements: Between the Balcony and the Barricade* (St. Louis, Mo.: C. V. Mosby, 1974). Their long, critically annotated bibliography is perhaps the best available.

A Methodology for Studying Education in Social Movements

R. G. Paulston and D. Lejeune

Introduction

If we wish to determine the most practical use of limited educational resources, we must assess the value of particular programs and processes and the institutional potential of a particular approach. As noted in the preceding chapter, current policy and planning literature, both in Europe and North America, emphasizes the capacity of education to increase the structural viability of a society in accordance with established national development priorities. Most studies have focused on the role of education in manpower training and in the socialization/resocialization and technical training of "maladjusted" individuals and marginal groups. Education within this context, often referred to as "welfare colonialism,"[1] is intended to raise the consciousness of the people, but with prescribed answers conforming to the legitimized goals of a society. Largely motivated by paternalistic attitudes, the educator becomes preoccupied in doing *to* or *for* people, rather than *with* them; application of educational principles is tempered by a dedication to "social uplift through social discipline."[2]

In marked contrast, the application of educational programs in facilitating change from below as a means of personal and group liberation has been virtually ignored in the literature.[3] In recognition of this neglect, this chapter proposes a perspective and methodology to explore examples of movement education as collective action, and its implications for social change. We suggest how one might describe, analyze, and evaluate the impact, potential, and limitations of these educational programs, such as folk colleges, created and controlled by social movements seeking to (1) alter socioeconomic structural relations in order to alleviate percieved grievances; and (2) support ethnic revival and resistance to acculturation. By definition, an educational strategy used within the context of a social movement is oriented toward liberating rather than adjustive outcomes. If the argument is accepted that a main purpose of formal schooling and establishment-sponsored educational programs is to preserve and legitimize inequality in the existing socioeconomic structure, in addition to the control of deviance, then we contend that a study of the use of educational programs in collective efforts seeking specific social, political, and/or economic goals can contribute both to social change and to a general theory of educational change.

Collective efforts toward social change may be pervasive, as in national social revolutions, or they may be reformist in nature and less profound. However, the efforts themselves will always involve the existence of relatively organized groups of people, dissenting to some degree against the established order and seeking to articulate demands for change against the resistance and rigidity of dominant groups and their institutionalized ideologies, norms, and attitudes. Social movements thus involve both structure (coordinated groups of people and their ideologies) and a common set of perceptions of "what's wrong" and "what ought to be."

This chapter examines some methodological implications of the innovation and use of education within a variety of social movement contexts and asks whether there is a correlation or significant relationship between movement education and the accomplishment of movement goals. More specifically, we will deal with the following ramifications of the question, "Under what conditions have educational programs contributed to movement efforts toward social change?":

1. Under what conditions do social movements create educational programs?
2. What variables are most influential in shaping the relative effectiveness of educational programs?
3. What variables are typically associated with varying degrees of program success or failure to help gain movement objectives?

In assessing these questions, the primary task was to formulate a method of analysis by which the relevant variables conditioning collective efforts toward social change and the use of educational programs could be identified. An analysis of the relationships within both the educational and social change processes facilitates an assessment of the advantages and limitations of education within social movements.

The research presented here was conducted on twenty-eight case studies of educational programs within various sovial movements (including ethnic, labor, religious, and communal movements and political groups) and two intensive case studies (United Farm Workers and the Feminist Women's Health Movement).[4] Set within a comparative framework, the evaluation of the case studies relates the effectiveness of variant conditions within movement educational programs to the social movement organization and its environmental context. In order to confine the research problem to operational boundaries, the case studies were limited to social movements within the

United States and Canada. Although the educational contributions of Scandinavian movement high schools to social and ethnic movements are not included here, we believe these North American cases and many of the Scandinavian cases have much in common. Moreover, the structural-bind theory to be described here can be fruitfully applied to the movement folk high schools in many countries, as well as to the North American cases described in this chapter. The U.S. movement education efforts, while rarely residential, and certainly far less successful, offer a provocative comparison to Scandinavian conditions and experiences.

The rationale of the research was to provide a source of practical and experiential information for studying and developing movement organizations in every possible sense as educational mechanisms. The ultimate objective of such an endeavor is to understand better how reformist social movements, as has been the case in the Scandinavian folk movements, the U.S. labor movement, and the civil rights and equal rights movements, have moved from a situation of powerlessness to one of greater empowerment through organization and education for capacity-building.

Definitions of Concepts and Issues

Before discussing our methodology and analysis, it is necessary to define the concepts *social movement* and *education*.

In an analysis of group organization for power (*power* defined as the individual's ability to make his interests felt in the decisions that affect him), Saul Alinsky expresses the essence of a social movement: it is "the orderly development of participation, interest and action by a group of people, for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change in the social order."[5] Several assumptions are inherent in this definition:

1. A social movement is the orderly development of participation, interest, and action by a group of people. . . . The viability of a movement is dependent on its organizational capabilities. As such, an essential function of the social movement is to serve as a "chemically treated funnel through which aggressions are transmuted into a dynamic cooperative drive."[6] This concerted effort gives character to the various organizations and structured groups (groups with specific programs, defined goals, and ideology, and leadership elites) which constitute the social movement. In addition, the ability of the social movement to mobilize participation, arouse interest and channel energies, and organize action tempers the direction of change.

2. . . . for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change. . . . The conception of a social movement begins with a group of people sharing a similar experiential background, seeking either to alter socioeconomic structural relations in order to alleviate perceived grievances or to facilitate ethnic revival and resistance to acculturation. The formation and development of a social movement is founded on perceived grievances and

expectations of what adherents view as just or what ought to be. Second, a social movement is an outgrowth or crystallization of the desire of a group of people to find solutions for their own problems and to direct change according to their perceived needs, desires which are obstructed by the realization of the scarcity of organizational resources to effect change from below. The social movement is generally a response to a real or perceived sense of powerlessness, to the insulation of people from decision-making in society, and is fired by the need to articulate demands for change.

3. . . . in the social order. . . . A social movement seeks to bring about or resist social, political, cultural, and/or economic change in the social order. In many instances a social movement implies the building of a new power group and confrontation with tradition and established institutions—it is therefore in itself a threat to the maintenance of the social order. Blumer has stated that in attempting to induce social change or to resist efforts toward change, "a movement has to carve out a career in what is practically an opposed, resistant, or at least indifferent society."[7] As such, the movement functions essentially to educate people (including the public) for the purpose of gaining adherents. It is engaged in an effort to win the "hearts and minds" of the people, to articulate shared dreams.

The evaluation of the effects of an educational program or, more specifically, the assessment of the value of a particular educational approach in facilitating efforts toward social change, must also take into consideration the interrelationship of the public educational system to the social order and its prescribed position of subservience. The formal established school system seeks to protect rather than inform, to promote consensus rather than conflict. The intended and unintended consequences of formal education have resulted in a fragmented educational experience, with heavy emphasis on compliance with the established order for maintenance purposes.

As a result, the exclusion of certain groups of people from decision-making, together with the maintenance of oppressive conditions presents an opportunity for the use of education as a tool in social change efforts. In coming to terms with frustrations within the system, various groups are using other strategies in order to gain control of their own education and direct change to suit their perceived needs. These educational programs take many forms, from schools to established communication networks. Within this context, a definition of the concept of education is associated with several key questions.

1. *Who defines problems, needs , priorities, and goals?* Within the context of this study, education is defined as "movement-controlled," with specific programs developed in response to the movement's perceived sense of powerlessness.

2. *What are the goals?* By definition, reformist movement education is geared to the perceived priorities of a struggle for altered social relations. Generally, movement education is used to facilitate the articulation of

problems, assist in the formulation of solutions, and meet the perceived needs of an organization.

3. *What is the structure of education?* For comparative purposes, analysis and evaluation is limited here to movement education with definable program structure. This structure includes the audience to which the program is directed, the functional purpose of the program, and the pedagogical technique used.

With these characteristics in mind, "movement education" is defined as structured learning activities, developed and controlled by a social movement within a liberating framework, for the express purpose of meeting movement needs, priorities, and goals. With education feeding into the rising levels of consciousness of a social movement, the success of a collectivity's appeal for change will, it is hoped, rest in dialectical exchange and accommodation of grievances.

The Theoretical Framework

The first step was to formulate a theoretical framework and a method of analysis in which the relevant variables conditioning collective efforts at social change and the use of education within social movements could be identified. In this respect, the work of F. L. Tullis[8] proved a usefull model. Tullis's model has the advantage of being both flexible and dialectical. It is not deeply rooted in either equilibrium or conflict views of social reality, and it is capable of incorporating and emphasizing key concepts from both. It also specifies key concepts and their empirical proxies to aid in quantification, testing of propositions, and comparative analysis of case studies.

This framework acknowledges that the quest for change, whether it involves the need to alleviate perceived grievances through socioeconomic structural change or the need to reestablish or redefine self-identity, involves stress and varying degrees of struggle. The question then becomes one of identifying those underlying stress factors which foster the development of a social movement. Tullis calls these conditions or contradictions, *structural binds,* i.e., structural discrepancies between group *capacity* to act and evident *opportunity* to do so within the confines of the *environmental situation.*[9] By definition, the structural bind involves the power relationships between a mobilized group and the environmental situation (i.e., the social-political-economic context preconditioning the possibilities of structured societal responses to social movements). Structural flexibility, or the possibilities of societal responses, may be represented on a range from social facilitation/absorption to social control/coercion.

The structural bind, or the stress conditions created by societal responses to demand for change, influences the organizational development (solidarity and intensity) of the social movement, as well as perceived expectations of opportunity. Thus we can represent the relationships of the above variables relative to the development of social movements from a dormant/inactive stage to one of intensity (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2).[10]

FIGURE 2.1

Origins of Social Movements

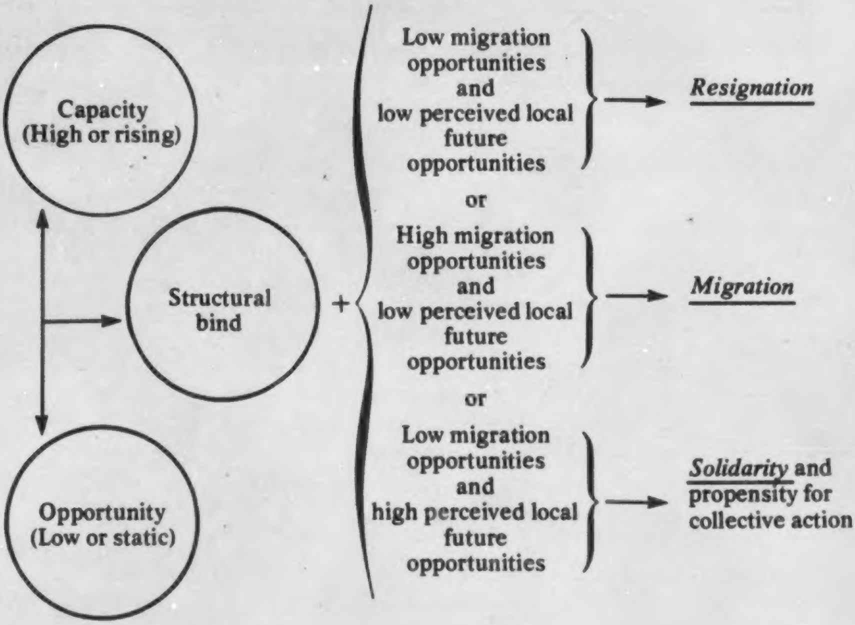

Capacity (High or rising)
Structural bind
Opportunity (Low or static)
+
Low migration opportunities and low perceived local future opportunities
Resignation
or
High migration opportunities and low perceived local future opportunities
Migration
or
Low migration opportunities and high perceived local future opportunities
Solidarity and propensity for collective action

Figure 2.2 shows three examples of the short- and long-term effects of environmental conditions where the societal responses include facilitation or control. The advantage of a theoretical framework is that it aids in an assessment of how and why educational programs have enhanced the position, relative to goal achievement and increased movement intensity, of social movements in the three situations described.

FIGURE 2.2

Changes in Movement Intensity

$|\longleftarrow\longrightarrow|$

Dormant Moderate Intense

SITUATION 1:
$\overset{+}{V_1} + \overset{o}{V_2} + \overset{\bar{o}}{FV_2}$

SITUATION II:
$SR_f \dashrightarrow$
$\overset{+\uparrow}{V_1} + \overset{\bar{o}}{V_2} + FV_2^{\uparrow}$

(a.) Short run:
moderates movement forces
and facilitates reform

(b.) Long run: $\overset{+\uparrow}{V_1} + V_2^{\uparrow} + \overset{\bar{o}}{FV_2}$

SITUATION III:
$SR_c \dashrightarrow$
$\overset{+\uparrow}{V_1} + V_2^{\uparrow} + FV_2^{\uparrow}$

(a.) Short run:

containment; but tends to
radicalize movement forces
and to increase solidarity. $\overset{+\uparrow}{V_1} + \overset{\wedge\!\searrow}{V_2} + \overset{\wedge\!\searrow}{FV_2}$

(b.) Long run:

resolution of structural
bind; or destruction of
movement forces

SR_f = societal response - facilitation
SR_c = societal response - control
V_1 = capacity; V_2 = opportunity; V_3 = solidarity
FV_2 = perceived future opportunity
$+\uparrow$ = high/rising
$\bar{o}$ = low/static
$\wedge\!\searrow$ = rising then falling

Before definitively establishing this framework, it is, of course, also necessary to define the "internal binds" within social movement organizations. Examples of internal binds include leadership factions, goal displacement, participant apathy, and lack of organizational skills and resources. The existence of internal binds within movement organizations may accentuate already existing conditions of external stress and may tend to obstruct the intensification of movement development and solidarity. Figure 2.3 suggests the effects of these binds and the interrelationships of the aforementioned variables of capacity, opportunity, expectations of future opportunity, solidarity, and societal response.

This theoretical framework for the analysis of social movement development provides for four possible outcomes:

1. resolution of the structural bind;
2. self-sustained growth;
3. stress conditions which lead to dormancy;
4. stress conditions resulting in movement destruction.

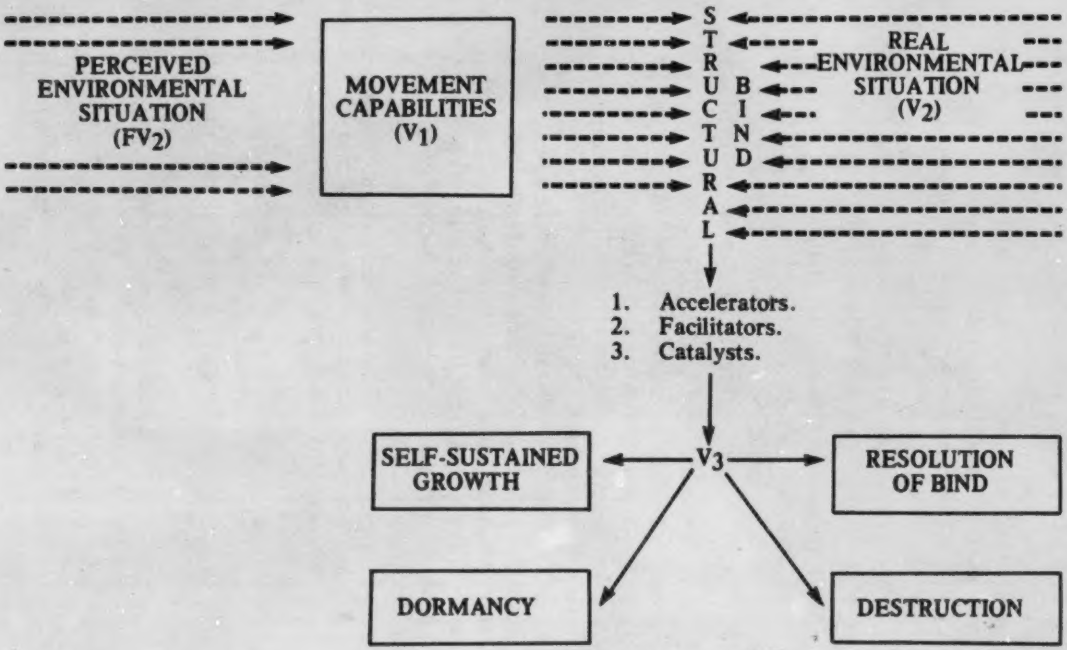
Tullis describes an "additional set of factors that has some bearing on the intensity of collective action, once the structural and psychological binds are set,"[12] and refers to accelerators, facilitators, and catalysts. It is at this critical junction that the utilization of educational programs by movement organizations will be examined.

The difficulty with this type of analysis lies in the fact that development education has focused on the need for more effective learning in order to reach more people in the socialization/politicization process.[13] Analysis has been essentially devoted to the study of educational programs within the context of top-down strategies for the express purpose of reinforcing establishment ideologies and goals.

> A major thrust of the literature in nonformal education has been the "demythologizing" of educational thought—the recognition that schooling is only one of a probably infinite array of educational possibilities. . . .
>
> In summary, the need for effective nonformal educational programs is usually expressed as a need to find alternatives: the alternatives are needed because of one or more of the following motives:
>
> 1. To bring education to people who are not being reached by the formal educational establishment.
> 2. To provide education at lower costs.
> 3. To direct educational efforts toward goals that are more practical or more closely related to the learners' needs within their society.[14]

FIGURE 2.3

The Process of Social Movement Development


PERCEIVED ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION (FV2)
MOVEMENT CAPABILITIES (V1)
STRUCTURAL
BIND
REAL ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION (V2)
1. Accelerators.
2. Facilitators.
3. Catalysts.
V3
SELF-SUSTAINED GROWTH
RESOLUTION OF BIND
DORMANCY
DESTRUCTION

As observed in the previous chapter, the interest in development education has been mostly built on the idea of engineering new delivery systems as an alternative to formal schooling.

> From this perspective the problem becomes essentially "How can non-formal education be used to support incremental improvements in resource allocation and production, to make existing societies, even if characterized by gross structural violence, more viable?" The answer has been in large part to blame the victims and to seek to make their behavior through schooling and training more "functional" in terms of elite expectations.[15]

Few indeed have responded to Ohlinger's invitation: "Outside the establishment or at its fringes, we need to work with individuals and groups who are moving towards an awareness of political and economic oppression and are acting against it."[16]

Relationships to be Examined

Our analysis questions whether there is a significant relationship between education and social movements. Does education function to:

1. increase the capacity for collective action?
2. increase self-generated opportunity?
3. increase movement capacity?

More specifically, the analysis and evaluation of case studies examines the validity and applicability of the following research questions:

1. *Interrelationships between education and movement capacity* (V_1). The utilization of education tends to increase the capacity or group resources of a movement, and will be associated with growth.

2. *Interrelationships between education and opportunity* (V_2). With the growing intensity of structural binds and the probable increase in movement solidatity, the use of education tends to relieve the structural bind by equalizing movement capacity and opportunity. That is, education acts to enhance self-generated opportunity as a result of increasing capacity.

The utilization of education to establish social linkages, to maximize the leverage of the social movement and its legitimacy, enhances the achievement of movement goals and relief of the structural bind.

3. *Interrelationships between education and solidarity* (V_3). Education serves to enhance internal movement linkages which in turn act to foster movement solidarity.

The hypotheses simply postulate a relationship between education and movement capacity; education and opportunity; education and solidarity; and education and movement success. Figure 2.4 is a visual representation of the stated hypotheses dealing with educational functions, together with the interrelationships between organizational and structural variables. It suggests the various educational functions or outputs of the movment, and the effect of educational outputs on variables dealing with the development of the movement (capacity, opportunity, and solidarity). The educational outputs of the movement are geared to the public (f_1) with the objective of increasing opportunity levels, and to the organization (f_2, f_3) in order to increase movement capacity, solidarity, and goal achievement.

The following two sections set forth some of the ideas that channel the analysis and assessment of the contribution of education to social movements. The first section deals with the relevance of community organization theory to educational functions within movement organizations; the second section deals with the importance of the process of evaluation.

Education and the Community Organization Theory

Saul Alinsky's notions of community organization may shed some light on the problem to be studied. He argues that the most salient aspect of oppression in any society is the "*powerlessness*" of the oppressed, both as an objective fact and in their psychological attitude that they cannot influence the outcomes of their lives. However, Alinsky maintains that by the sheer value of their numbers, the poor, the disenfranchised, and the oppressed have a potential edge on power. Alinsky's contentions are based on the tactics and strategies conducive to the acquisition, elaboration, and the actual use of power, what he calls, "power through organization." His community organization theories derive from the following propositions.[17]

1. Apathy results because of the lack of opportunity for collective action.
2. The character of the means or tools through which change may be effected must be clearly understood by the people at all times; it is power through organization.
3. Prevailing arrangements of power patterns can only be altered by power ("organized energy").

It is through this organization for power that education becomes fundamental for organizational viability and the achievement of goals.

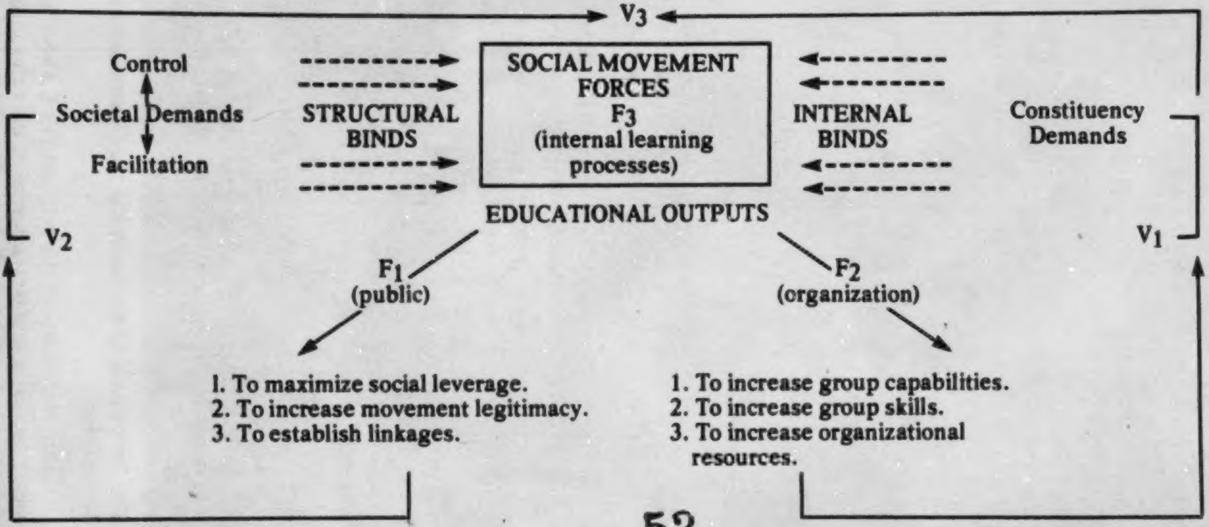
> In the last analysis, the objective for which any democratic movement must strive is the ultimate objective within democracy —popular education. . . . The very purpose and character of a people's organization is educational.[18]

The centrality of education to the development of movement organizations is reiterated by Alinsky:

> The community organization should provide a constant meaningful educational experience for as many of the participating citizenry as possible. The organization has to be used in every possible sense as an educational mechanism. Education and not propaganda. Education in the truest sense whereby the membership will begin to make sense out of their relationship as individuals to the organiza-

FIGURE 2.4

Educational Functions and Relationships Between Variables


V3
Control
Societal Demands
Facilitation
V2
STRUCTURAL BINDS
SOCIAL MOVEMENT FORCES
F3
(internal learning processes)
INTERNAL BINDS
Constituency Demands
V1
EDUCATIONAL OUTPUTS
F1
(public)
F2
(organization)
1. To maximize social leverage.
2. To increase movement legitimacy.
3. To establish linkages.
1. To increase group capabilities.
2. To increase group skills.
3. To increase organizational resources.

> tion and the world in which they live; so that they can make informed and intelligent judgments. The stream of activities and programs of the organization provides a never-ending series of specific issues and situations which create a rich field for the learning process.[19]

Thus, in the overall pedagogical context of Alinsky's theory, the following orientations are of paramount importance:

1. Reliance on the people to provide the impetus for change and to sustain the organization.

> If you respect the dignity of the individuals with whom you are working, then their desires, not yours; their values, not yours; their ways of working and fighting, not yours; their choice of leadership, not yours; is what is important and to be accepted."[20]

2. If the basic problem is defined as powerlessness, then the role of education is to assist individuals in articulating needs, mobilizing resources to meet those needs, and organizing participation, interest, and action for the realization of organizational goals.

> The problem is that the underprivileged have no power over their lives, and they know it. They want bread and opportunity; instead they're offered "consolation," "adjustment," arts and crafts, fun and games. . . . Show them how to get the power to achieve what they want, not what somebody else thinks is sufficient for them, and they'll uplift their community themselves.[20]

It is to these ends that it is postulated in this study that the educational outputs of a movement organization serve a threefold function; and when educational programs of a movement seek to meet these three functions, they will prove most effective relative to the achievement of organizational goals.

a. Education must function to increase movement capability, skills, and resources, with educational objectives directed toward enlarging movement capacity.

b. Education must function within the internal learning process of the organization, with educational objectives directed toward increasing solidarity.

c. Education must function to "inform the public" (establishing linkages and increasing legitimacy) with educational objectives directed toward increasing movement opportunity.

The Importance of Evaluation in the Contribution of Education to Social Movements

An evaluation of the relationship between education and social movements basically involves a series of inquiries into the nature of educational processes and collective efforts within organizations:

1. Evaluation discloses the extent to which specific programs reach stated goals. The evaluation involves an examination of goal achievement, including discrepancies between formal and covert goals, and actual program outcomes, both anticipated and unanticipated.

2. Evaluation seeks to analyze why the observed results occurred. Which educational programs worked or did not work, how and why? This analysis involves:

   a. Examination of the theoretical premises underlying educational programs.

   b. Specification of the program "process model," i.e., the linkages between inputs and outcomes.[22]

   c. Analysis of the effectiveness of educational programs, program components, and alternative approaches. This assessment tends "to avoid the dead-end of finding the whole program ineffective (or effective) without any indication of why."[23]

The function of evaluation is to locate and identify factors which contribute to relative program effectiveness. This function makes imperative the use of a more holistic approach incorporating both evaluation of goal achievement, and a measurement of the effectiveness of other program functions and outcomes. Among these are program productivity in terms of goal achievement; program flexibility relative to adaptation to change; and the importance, if any, of intraorganizational and environmental stress. If an evaluation of educational program effectiveness can be made in terms of these relationships between educational program, organizational and the environmental factors, the results should help to increase the efficiency of educational programs as they seek to facilitate the attainment of movement goals.

Application of the Model

An assessment of the contribution of education, i.e., structured teaching and learning activities, to social movements necessitates an exploratory approach to the problem. This should consist of a survey of the literature and available information on movement educational programs. The inferences and conclusions reported in the following pages derive from our survey and are based on an analysis of selected case materials.[24]

This analysis of education within movement organizations focuses on three critical perspectives. Each of these perspectives is delineated in a "case abstract" for each movement organization and includes:

1. *Origins of the movement*, including a descriptive analysis of the *structural bind*.

2. The *educational response and rationale*, specifically dealing with the conditions under which organizations innovate and maintain educational programs; and the pedagogical aspects, including educational program goals and structure.

3. *Evaluation* of the perceived contributions of education to movement objectives, including an assessment of any discrepancy between program goals and actual outcomes, both anticipated and unanticipated.

This type of analysis enables a multi-measure approach in each case study. Specific factors or variables in each case, including capacity, opportunity, and solidarity, were searched and rated. These variables were operationalized with empirical indicators which enabled their identification and description. The indicators were coded to facilitate an assessment of the relationships between variables associated with movement education. Tullis has defined three sets of indicators[25] (the total number of indicators is 50), to which there was added a fourth and fifth category on the coding form:

1. Indicators of variables which facilitate/impede organizational efforts, i.e., capacity (V_1). Indicators of this variable include the structural bind; the audience to which the educational program is directed; functional responses of the educational program; its structure and technique, specificity and scope, and influence upon goal-setting; the nature of perceived goals; the availability of external and internal inputs; satisfaction with educational programs; the function of ideology; the degree of parochialism; and the range of programs.

2. Indicators of variables which mitigate/aggravate situational factors, i.e., opportunity (V_2). Indicators of this variable include intensity of the movement organization; the extent to which goals threaten societal power relationships; a description of the threat to society; the legitimacy of the educational programs; and the extent to which educational programs succeed in gaining public support.

3. Indicators of variables which encourage/discourage psychological commitment to collective efforts, i.e., solidarity (V_3). These include the degree to which program goals/methods are commonly perceived; constituency participation in programs and level of support, control, and stress conditions.

4. Indicators of variables measuring program success. These include the limitations of the programs; organizational membership: organizational legitimacy; constituency satisfaction; program continuity; and movement success.

5. Indicators of variables assessing the validity of the hypotheses. Included are the contribution of education to movement capacity, opportunity, and solidarity.

Each case study was analyzed using a coded sheet and a case abstract. The abstracts provide a general overview of each case study and include information on the origins of the movement, the educational response and rationale, and program evaluation. The coded forms, utilizing an ordinal level of measurement, provide the data base for a computerized evaluation of the relationships between variables. The comparison of the case studies of movement educational programs, together with the computerized evaluation of the relationships between variables, functions to refine abstractions and to test the explicit relationships defined in the hypotheses posed.

In judging the relative effectiveness of a particular movement educational program, emphasis was placed on the perception of a discernible correspondence between intended and actual outcomes. Ineffectiveness was scored on evidence of dysfunctional, unintended consequences such as: outmigration of movement constituency; cooptation of the movement with resultant displacement of movement objectives; and, among others, assimilation and acculturation of movement constituency.

Limitations of the Approach

Although our data are derived from both primary and secondary source materials, very little of the literature on social movement organizations deals comprehensively and explicitly with educational programs. Thus, it was necessary to pool information from varied sources, a difficult task. For this reason, the study is based on a nonrandom availability sample. The lack of available literature places obvious constraints on the quality of the analysis. The limited number of case studies also restricts the generalizability of research findings. These should therefore be viewed as preliminary and suggestive, as an attempt to open a new vista on important but neglected educational phenomena.

Classification of Case Studies

In selecting case studies to apply the model to, emphasis was placed more on obtaining a wide range of situations than upon testing for internal consistencies within each group type. Case studies were classified according to two major dimensions: specification of structural binds, and specification of movement objectives.

Structural binds, as we have noted, are stress conditions caused by discrepancies between the perceived situation of a group and the perception of what is just, possible, and expected. Binds concretely represent power relationships between a mobilized group and society. Four broad classifications of structural binds are specified:

1. Political bind: stress conditions characterized by the insulation of a group from decision-making. The resultant struggle is between institutional power bases and peripheral groups organized to influence or to participate in decision-making processes, or to divest political/social institutions of power.

2. Economic bind: stress conditions generated by the discrepancy between the economy of affluence and an economy of scarcity, creating conditions of impoverishment. Efforts are directed toward equalizing access to economic resources and improving the group's economic base.

3. Ethno-cultural bind: stress conditions characterized by alienation and rootlessness as a result of cultural denigration and extreme pressure toward acculturation. Group innovations are characterized by efforts at revitalization, i.e., a conscious endeavor to establish a more satisfying culture and lifestyle as a means to the reduction of stress.

4. Socio-religious bind: stress conditions characterized by social isolation as a result of a group's perceived need for a new and more satisfying socio-religious environment.

Movement objectives, the second major dimension, were viewed in the context of our definition of a social movement: "the orderly development of participation, interest, and action by a group of people, for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change in the social order." Within this definition, the problem in analyzing existing case materials becomes among others, one of differentiating one social movement from another.

Here, it may be useful to examine the ideological component of social movements, which Gusfield has defined as "the set of ideas which specify discontents, prescribe solutions, and justify change."[26] The particular ideology of any social movement defines its relationships with the social system in addition to determining movement objectives, i.e., the desired direction of the movement as a response to the structural bind. The movement seeks to influence the social order, and in doing so orients itself toward specific goals.

The possible movement responses or categories expressing latent and manifest movement objectives may be classified as follows:

1. Transformative movement objectives call for the basic structural alteration of the social order (e.g., the Black Panthers), or fundamental alteration within a given sector of the social order (e.g., the Feminist Women's Health Movement). Here movement objectives are essentially based on the ideas of liberation and self-determination and seek a radical restructuring of the social order.

2. Reformist movement objectives seek to alter relationships within the social order without drastic structural change. These efforts are directed toward correcting social defects which detrimentally affect the movement constituency. For example, the U.S. civil rights movement developed in response to assumptions of white racial superiority and individual and institutional practices of racism. Movement objectives basically sought to guarantee minority civil rights by correcting and demanding change of the legal mechanisms which granted civil rights only to select groups of people.

3. Separatist movement objectives attempt to break away from the existing social order for the purpose of establishing a segregated subsystem within it (e.g., Nation of Islam), or a separate system apart from the social order (e.g., the American Indian Movement). As it is perceived that the social order is opposed to movement needs, the expressed objective is to create a more satisfying and functional socio-culture system in a semi-autonomous enclave.

4. Reactionary movement objectives seek to counter and reverse changes brought about in the existing social order. These movements are generally characterized as "conservative," i.e., "not progressive." Ongoing societal changes are perceived as unresponsive to existing needs. Movement efforts are directed toward reestablishing previous conditions (e.g., the response by the

Citizen's Councils to Supreme Court desegregation rulings), or toward reestablishing a more ecologically, socially, politically, and/or economically sound order (e.g., the Unification Church).

Each of these categories[27] expresses the interrelationships between perceived stress conditions (discrepancies between perceptions of what is and what ought to be) and the expression and organization of dissatisfaction as embodied in movement objectives. The classification of these two factors, structural binds and movement objectives, results in sixteen possible types of social movement classifications. This classification is presented in Table 2.1.

We must caution that this taxonomy is suggestive and not definitive. As movements undergo changes in their leadership and membership, and as environmental pressures and conditions change, movements will experience goal transformation and displacement. Accordingly, a movement's location on this grid will most likely shift over time. This is to be expected. The grid should, however, be able to chart such a change as perceptions of structural bind and stated objectives are altered in the struggle for change.[28]

Some Findings on Movement Educational Program Effectiveness

Our findings suggest that there is evidence of high and medium levels of integration of movement ideology in the educational programs of twenty-five of the twenty-eight movements. Ideology serves as the focal point for any collectivity of people seeking change in the social system. By binding the value system and the collective behavior of a movement, ideology acts as a foundation on which to build and develop educational programs.

Ideology appeared to be an especially serious factor for consideration in the ethno-cultural movements where it functions primarily as a defense mechanism in efforts to avoid exploitation by individuals and groups in the dominant society. These movements seek self-determination and solidarity rather than greater participation in society.

In many of the ethno-cultural movements, educational programs are directed toward building group consciousness. There are two assumptions underlying the ideology associated with ethnicity and the concept of cultural pluralism: equality within a democratic and pluralistic context, and social mobility. Ethnic identity, fostered as part of movement ideology, is used to bring about the change needed to relieve bind conditions.

In providing the value base necessary for building greater group cohesion, ideology also serves to define boundaries between the movement and society. Particularly in the communal and religious movements, boundary maintenance is important in providing the reinforcement necessary in absorbing and learning the attitudes, values, and role expectations of the group.

Although it seems probable that a strong ideological base enhances program effectiveness, the index of association between movement ideology and program effectiveness is low (chi square significant to 0.5251, with V=.23901).

TABLE 2.1

A Classification of Social and Ethnic Movements

MOVEMENT OBJECTIVES / STRUCTURAL BIND	*SEPARATIST*	*REACTIONARY*	*REFORMIST*	*TRANSFORMATIVE*
POLITICAL	AIM	Citizen's Council	SNCC Delancey Street SF Women's Movement COFO	CWLU LA Women's Movement
ECONOMIC	Manitoba Federation of Agriculture	Rural Advancement Fund	UFW CIO	Commonwealth College Brookwood
ETHNO-CULTURAL	Nation of Islam Danish Evangelical Church DQU	KKK	TWO Crusade for Justice	Black Crusade
SOCIO-RELIGIOUS	Hutterian Brethern Amish	Unification Church	Mormons	Oneida Hare Krishna Bruderhof

Similarly, although we might also assume that ideology would tend to affect program continuity, the index of association is again low (chi square significant to 0.8436, with V=.15832). As the cases available all have well-integrated ideologies in movement programs, this low index of association may in fact be due to the lack of case studies of movement educational programs with either medium or low integration of ideology. In any case, this seems to be an important relationship and further research is needed.

Concluding Observations

The educational efforts of the social movements examined have been geared to the transformation of situational conditions of powerlessness to empowerment. The objectives of many of the movements have been literally defined in terms of "power" and more often than not, in terms of "self-determination." With the bind condition defined basically as "powerlessness," the role of education within social movements is to assist individuals in articulating needs; in mobilizing resources to meet those needs; and in the organization of participation, interest, and action for the realization of organization goals. Is it possible to affirm the contention, through the intensive case studies on the Farm Workers' Union and the Women's Health Centers, that education has indeed been useful in meeting the role of articulating needs, of mobilizing resources, and organizing for power?

The educational programs developed within the context of the struggles of both the UFW and the Feminst Women's Health Center[30] have proven a valuable asset in fulfilling the above specified role. Both movements are dealing foremost with existing power relationships that result in dependency. In the UFW movement, the struggle is to wrest power from agribusiness monopolies and shift this power to a farm workers' union. The women's health movement deals with a monopoly in the area of health care, and comes to terms with the dependency situation by developing competence in self-care. Educational programs developed within both movements have proven indispensable to the development and growth of the movement and to the advancement of its objectives.

The key to the development of any social movement organizaton is the development of individual, group, and organizational competence. The women's health movement is built on the concepts of self-care and self-help, i.e., the acquisition of knowledge relevant to physical/mental health as a basis for alleviating the destructive tendencies of a dependency relationship. The development of a farm workers' union rests on the growth of organizational competence in numerous technical skills associated with union management. For both organizations, the role of education in building competence is of indisputable significance.

> What is required for psycho-social development is the broadest possible synthesis of competences including political, moral,

> economic, persuasive, benefactory, physical, technical, and organizational competences. . . . All these kinds of competences must be integrated and fused if development is to take place.[31]

The most obvious evidence of the influence of educational programs on movement organization is the development of the functional capabilities (or competences) of the organizaton itself. The educational programs at the UFW La Paz Educational Center have been critical in putting into operation a number of structural innovations instituted by the union. These innovations (the hiring hall, the ranch committee, and the seniority system) as well as skills necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the union have, in turn, prompted the development of additional educational programs to meet new organizational needs. The subsequent ability of the union to function successfully over a period of time is in part an indication of the success of these educational programs in meeting specific organizational needs.

In the women's health movement, the most salient outgrowth of the educational programs, both in consciousness-raising and training in skills, has been the emergence and proliferation of women-controlled health centers. Developed in the context of a self-help movement, these programs have been at least partially successful in creating an alternative to existing health care for women, a result that has been accomplished largely as a consequence of community educational programs.

The educational programs developed within these movements have certainly not yet resulted in relief of the structural bind nor complete satisfaction of movement objectives. However, it is apparent from both our comparative case study analysis and intensive studies of social movement education that educational innovations have been extensively developed to meet numerous categorically defined movement needs and have contributed in many of the cases to the building of viable organizations.

We stated in the introduction that our methodology was created in response to the neglect of academic research on social movement education. As the reader may note here and in the following chapters, out-of-school education can under certain conditions become a dynamic force when used within the context of a social movement in order to facilitate change from below. At this point it is necessary to emphasize that the purpose of this study was not merely to gather information on a neglected subject matter in the hope of arousing enthusiasm for the accumulation of greater quantities of more conclusive data. Our intention and expectation is also to incite active support of oppressed people in their efforts to bring about more equitable social relations.[32]

It is, of course, required that the process of research—of scrutiny—be conducted with dispassion, detachment, and objectivity in order to ensure valid research findings. We contend, however, that it is not possible to evaluate the historical struggles of oppressed peoples with rigid dispassion. A plea is made to the researcher to be *less, rather than more, detached* in the hope of ending the indifference to oppression and unfreezing the potentiality for active commitment to social change processes seeking more democratic societies.[33]

In sum, if this chapter does not propose research merely for the sake of research, it also does not intend to facilitate political maneuvering for the purpose of wresting initiative and momentum away from reformist social movements. The research findings, and especially the insights into social movement education, are not presented in order to enable oppressive forces to "leap-frog" movements. To the contrary, the underlying rationale for this chapter is to provide a source of practical and experiential (based on case-study analysis) information for developing reformist movement organizations in every possible sense as educational mechanisms. The intention is to help build movement capability, to counteract the perceived sense of powerlessness, through a reliance on collective effort in social movements to provide the impetus for change. As the most salient aspect of oppression in any society is the powerlessness of the oppressed, the obvious need is to transform underdog movements from a condition of powerlessness to one of empowerment. Clearly, we do not provide conclusive and definite answers to this need, but we do suggest a methodology to study how structured educational activities have fed into social movements, and an indication of some key factors that influence the innovation, operation, and outcomes of movement educational programs.

NOTES

1. Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 309-55.

2. Ibid., p. 314.

3. See Rolland Paulston and Greg LeRoy, "Strategies for Nonformal Education," *Teacher's College Record* 76 (May 1975):560-96.

4. See Rolland Paulston, *Folk Schools in Social Change: A Partisan Guide to the Literature* (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1972).

5. *Reveille for Radicals* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 198. Alinsky was the founder and director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, a Chicago-based organization which has devoted its energies and resources to assisting people in over fifty communities to mobilize to find solutions to social problems. Among the neighborhood groups that have been established are the Woodlawn Organization (Chicago), the Community Service Organization (California), and the Back of the Yards (Chicago).

6. Ibid., p. 185.

7. Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, ed. Joseph Gitter (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), pp. 127-58.

8. *Politics and Social Change in Third World Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); and *Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).

9. Tullis, *Lord and Peasant*, p. 65, describes the notion of "gaps" as the basic origin of collective protest.

10. Tullis, *Politics and Social Change*, p. 264.

11. For a discussion of the concept of structural flexibility, see E. A. Havens, "Quest for Social Development," in *Sociological Perspectives of Domestic Development*, ed. G. M. Beal et al. (Ames, Iowa: State University Press, 1971), pp. 70-93.

12. Tullis, *Lord and Peasant*, p. 281.

13. Paulston and LeRoy, "Strategies fo[illegible]onformal Education," pp. 569-96.

14. Marvin Grandstaff, *Study Team Reports: A Summary View of Research and Analysis on the Concept of NFE* (Lansing, Michigan: Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1974), p. 77.

15. Paulston and LeRoy, "Strategies for Nonformal Education," p. 587.

16. John Ohlinger, "Is Life-long Education a Guarantee of Permanent Inadequacy?" *Convergence* 7 (January 1974):47-59.

17. Saul Alinsky, *From Citizen Apathy to Participation* (Chicago: Industrial Areas Foundation, October 19, 1957), p. 61. See also Si Kahn, *How People Get Power* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970).

18. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals,* p. 23.

19. Alinsky, *Apathy to Participation,* p. 10.

20. Ibid., p. 8.

21. Hillel Black, "This is War," *Saturday Evening Post* 237 (Jan. 25, 1964):60-63.

22. See Carol Weiss, "Utilization of Evaluaton: Toward Comparative Study," in *Evaluating Action Programs, Readings in Social Action and Education,* Carol Weiss, ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972), p. 322.

23. Ibid., p. 324.

24. For a helpful guide in this regard, see Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1969).

25. *Politics and Social Change in Third World Countries,* p. 66.

26. Joseph R. Gusfield, "Social Movements," in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 445.

27. For a similar theoretical classification, see David F. Aberle, *The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 315-17. Aberle classifies social movements as transformative (seeking total change in the supra-individual systems) and redemptive (seeking total change in the individual).

28. John Wilson, for example, in his *Introduction to Social Movements* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) classifies movements at any given time as transformative, reformative, redemptive, or alternative. See also Henry Landsberger, "The Role of Peasant Movements and Revolts in Development: An Analytical Framework," *Bulletin of the International Institute for Labour Studies* (February 1968), pp. 8-85.

29. See, for example, *Chicano Student Movement* 1 (November 1968):4; Peter Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 71-72; John Gregory Dunne, "To Die Standing: Cesar Chavez and the Chicanos," *The Atlantic Monthly,* (August 1971):45; Tony Castro, *Chicano Power: The Emergence of the Mexican American* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), p. 93; John R. Howard, *The Cutting Edge* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1974), p. 81; James M. Pierce, "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1973," Report to the National Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund, 1974; "Nonformal Education at Work in the U.S.: El Teatro Campesino, Farm Workers' Theatre," *Instructional Technology Report* No. 12 (September 1975); and National Farm Worker Ministry, "Programs Farm Workers Have Made for Themselves" (November 1975). For an enlightening descriptive analysis of the UFW organization and specific structures (hiring hall, seniority system, and ranch committees), see Ronald Taylor, *Chavez and the Farm Workers* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), ch. 2.

30. See San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, Medical Committee for Human Rights, *Billions for Bandaids* (San Francisco, 1972), p. 125; Carol Downer, "Covert Sex Discrimination Against Women as Medical Patients" (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1973; rpt. from an address to the American Psychological Association, September 5, 1972); Ellen Frankfort, *Vaginal Politics* (New York: Bantam Books, 1972); Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, *Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness,* Glass Mountain Pamphlet No. 2 (San Francisco: The Feminest Press, 1973); Ivan Illich, *Tools for Conviviality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); *The New Woman's Survival Catalog* (New York: Berkeley Publishing Corporation, 1973), p. 89; and Ivan Illich, *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health* (New York: Pantheon, 1976). For additional information on health centers and collectives and a listing of center, see the *Survival Catalog* and *The New Woman's Survival Sourcebook* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), pp. 32-65.

31. Charles Hampden Turner, *From Poverty to Dignity* (New York: Anchor Books, 1974), p. 132.

32. See especially International Council for Adult Education (Toronto M5R1B2) Working Paper No. 1, Budd L. Hall, "Creating Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly on Research Methods, Participation and Development" (February, 1979); and Budd L. Hall and J. Roby Kidd, eds., *Adult Learning: A Diary for Action* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1978).

33. For a discussion of theoretical & methodological implications and options, see R. G. Paulston, "Multiple Approaches to the Evaluation of Educational Reform: From Cost-Benefit to Power-Benefit Analysis," International Institute for Educational Planning (Paris 75016) document 11EP/556/7A (August 1979); R. G. Paulston & James Di Costanzo, "Critical Perspectives on the Evaluation of Educational and Social Reform," International & Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh (August 1978); and R. G. Paulston, "Nonformal Education as Anti-Structure," American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, Caifornia, November, 1978.

PART 2

Folk High Schools in Scandinavian Popular, Elite, and Minority Movements

Grundtvig, Folk Education, and Scandinavian Cultural Nationalism

E. F. Fain

Outside his native country of Denmark, Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig's fame rests mainly on his role as founder of the folk high school movement. He is conceived of primarily as an educator, and there is general acknowledgement that the folk high school was an unusually successful variety of pedagogical invention.[1] In English articles and books, Grundtvig has often been portrayed as a kind of Danish Thomas Arnold, who substituted bacon and the cooperatives for games and Latin.[2] His ideas are sometimes considered against a backdrop of nineteenth-century Danish events, but are almost never set into the general context of nineteenth-century European cultural history. This is unfortunate, for Grundtvig's folk high school idea stemmed directly from his concepts of romantic nationalism, and many aspects of the folk high school can be properly understood only in terms of that kind of nationalism.[3]

Grundtvig studies done in Denmark are of course quite different in focus. There, almost every aspect of Grundtvig's life and his important role in Danish national history has received attention. In recent times, his accomplishments as a theologian, poet, and cultural leader have evoked considerably more interest than his accomplishments as an educator. His position as a national great man is taken for granted, his genius and originality are accepted without question, and his texts have been examined in minute, reverent fashion. Nonetheless, as in the English studies, Grundtvig's place in the general European stream of cultural nationalism is rarely examined. In part, there may be some reluctance among Danes to view Grundtvig in any manner other than as a unique product of Denmark.[4] The chief reason for Grundtvig's isolated historical position, however, is undoubtedly that Scandinavian cultural history has never quite been woven into the fabric of continental cultural history. Many factors account for this—among them the geographic position of Scandinavia in relation to the major continental centers, the small population, the rural economy, and the inability of Denmark and Sweden in modern times to maintain their positions as great powers. These factors in turn have affected the use and spread of the Scandinavian languages among foreigners. In the twentieth century, it is the specialist historian outside Norway, Sweden, or Denmark who knows a Scandinavian language, whereas French and German are absolutely basic for anyone working in the fields of European history. Scandinavian cultural history is rather like the history of education in that it has developed traditionally as a separate discipline. Thus, Grundtvig has been a prominent figure in two varieties of what must be regarded as essentially provincial history.

The Danish historian Poul Georg Lindhardt has suggested that problems of translation are primarily responsible for the failure of Grundtvig to be as internationally influential as Kierkegaard or Hans Christian Andersen:

> His works are difficult to understand, and even more difficult to translate. Clear thinking and concise expressions were not for him; he called himself a bard (*skjald*), and the language of the bard is not always clear, although it is often profound.[5]

It is undoubtedly the case that good translations of Grundvig's prose (his poetry, of course, presents special problems) would be difficult to execute, though probably not any more difficult than Kierkegaard's. In my view, however, the chief obstacle to a wide dissemination of Grundtvig's notions lies elsewhere. It is that Grundtvig was so bound up with the idea of a Danish national character,[6] an idea in turn tied to a mystic conception of the Danish language as an expression of *Volksgeist*, or folk soul, that he cannot be read in isolation from a consideration of the nineteenth-century cultural nationalist scene.[7] To understand what Grundtvig meant by "the living word," for example, it is quite essential to grasp the force of the tradition—a tradition rooted in German pietistic Lutheranism—which fought vigorously against the use of Latin and French so that the true original Ur-spirit of the people might emerge. Similarly, it is difficult to see why Grundtvig so hated the Latin schools (or, as he called them, the "black schools") unless one understands the cultural nationalist and Protestant premises which lie beneath the arguments.

That the problem is not primarily translation is underscored by considering the case of Bjornstjerne Bjornson, the Norwegian writer and patriot whose position as national hero of Norway is similar to Grundtvig's in Denmark. Bjornson's major plays and novels were translated into English not long after their initial appearance in Norway, yet one cannot read them with any interest unless one appreciates the particular social and political background which gave rise to them. Bjornson always wrote in terms of the causes he was espousing, and his characters—unlike Ibsen's—are often mere mouthpieces for propaganda. Lacking the sentimental attachment which a Norwegian national is likely to bring in advance to a figure like Bjornson, or a Danish national to a figure like Grundtvig, one must endeavor to reconstruct the atmosphere in which these men acted in order to understand why they excited so much local attention.

The cultural nationalist movement in nineteenth-century Scandinavia is in any case of interest because it can be examined free of the sinister overtones which emanate from its counterpart movement in Germany. The Herder-to-Hitler theme, stated perhaps most baldly by the not-quite-respectable Peter Viereck in his *Metapolitics: The Roots of the Nazi Mind*[8] but hinted at delicately by almost every other non-German writer on German history, has received wide play. Briefly, the argument runs that doctrines of romanticism led directly to doctrines of "Volkish" thought, and these led—if perhaps less directly—to racist thought and Nazism. The connections have been stated in different ways, but perhaps the most interesting treatment to examine in conjunction with Grundtvig's ideas is that of George Mosse in his book *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich.*[9] Mosse characterizes "Volkish" though as containing the following elements: the union of a group of people with a transcendental essence or spirit, the special role of history in explaining human destiny, the idealization of the peasant and rural life, the idealization of the past and the primitive (the search for *Ur*-things), and the nation as a spiritual essence rather than as a political identity. He states: "In order to be truly effective, a system of ideas must permeate important social and political institutions. And before 1918 the Volk-centered ideology penetrated one of the most important of such institutions, the educational establishment."[10] Most of Mosse's book is indeed a detailed accounting of the penetration of Volkish ideas into German educational circles. These ideas, he claims, paved the way for the Nazis.

Certainly most of Grundtvig's proposals would have to be labeled "Volkish." Further, there is absolutely no question about the tremendous influence of Grundtvigian thought in Denmark, and particularly in Danish education. Since the Danes turned out to be quite immune to Nazi ideology, however, a study of Grundtvig in terms of his romantic nationalist outlook may well provide a most interesting counterexample to the casual contentions espoused by so many current commentators on German cultural history. The Herder-to-Hitler theme has of course been attacked from other quarters as well. Isaiah Berlin, for example, thinks that the standard interpretations of Herder's ideas are much oversimplified, and he goes on to say that:

> it is an historical and moral error to identify the ideology of one period with its consequences at some other, or with its transformation in another context and in combination with other factors. The progeny of Herder in, let us say, England or America, are to be found principally among those amateurs who became absorbed in the antiquities and forms of life (ancient and modern) of cultures other than their own, in Asia and Africa or the "backward" provinces of Europe or America; among professional travellers and collectors of ancient song and poetry, among enthusiastic and sometimes sentimental devotees of more primitive forms of life in the Balkans or among the Arabs; nostalgic *emigres* and exiles like

> Richard Burton, Doughty, Lafcadio Hearn, the English companions of Gandhi or Ibn Saud; as well as serious students and philosophers of language and society.[11]

Like so many nineteenth-century writers, philosophers, and leaders of what the French historian Erica Simon terms "*es pays protestants,*" Grundtvig (1783-1872) spent his childhood in a Lutheran country parsonage. The parsonages were pervaded by an atmosphere of bourgeois piety, with family prayers and hymn-singing an important part of daily life. In Copenhagen, such doctrines of the Enlightenment as natural religion had already inspired the growth of a rationalist-oriented clergy, but Grundtvig's father was an old-fashioned orthodox minister. Orthodox Lutheranism in Denmark, unlike German orthodox Lutheranism, contained within it many pietistic elements, for King Christian VI (reign: 1730-1746) had supported the Pietists and, as head of the state church, had decreed and enforced a series of pietistic reforms.

The Lutheran country parsonage as *"eine Urzelle des Geisteslebens"* is an interesting theme, and it has been dealt with in some detail by Robert Minder.[12] He points out that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular brought the prophets and apostles into a new light; it was as if the Biblical characters, now that they spoke a familiar language, had come personally to dwell in Protestant homes. The world of the spirit became a daily affair. Minder discusses a phenomenon noticed by other historians—that as Latin theology was thrust into the background by the Pietists, native literary impulses seemed to be unlocked. In Protestant Switzerland and Germany, a noticeable revival of secular literature (especially lyric poetry) accompanied the pietistic movement. Most of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century cultural leaders of the German Protestant realm (Lessing, Holderlin, Herder, Schleiermacher, and Schelling, for example) were in fact the sons of pietistic Lutheran ministers.

When these sons left their rural homes and came to the cities, where Enlightenment doctrines in one form or another held sway and where the vernacular language was still looked upon as the property of country yokels, they tended to feel estranged. They longed for the comfort of their childhood nests, where they could speak their mother tongue with ease and sing the hymns which gave them such joy. In their minds, the rural parsonages in which they had grown up were transformed into a kind of idyll, where life was a golden amalgam of the family, nature, the simple ways, and Jesus. (When Grundtvig first attended the University of Copenhagen, he was somewhat influenced by less orthodox and more enlightened theological views, but after his emotional collapse in 1810 he found relief in a return to the religion of his childhood—a religion uncomplicated by vexing problems of theological doctrine and Latin texts.) The nightmare for the pietistic pastor's son, according to Minder, was to be away from home—a home warmed by the rituals of family life and the aura of Christ—and to awaken in a foreign city to the horror of a cold, emotionless church, with a minister carrying out dry, mechanical rituals to honor a God from whom all love and joy had been removed. Some of the more emancipated pastor's sons, like Holderlin, combined their glowing vision of home with a sort of pseudo-Hellenistic dream. Others spoke of snug rooms, of calm countenances, of children's faces alight with a kind of bright joy of the local landscape and the glories of nature, of the family dinner, of Mother. In Germany, this kind of characterization was sometimes used in literature to illustrate German profundity as against Jewish shallowness or the admirable Protestant sense of duty as against Austrian-Catholic "*Schlamperei.*" Certainly no sharper critic existed of the pietistic symphony pastorale than the very urbane, very Jewish Heinrich Heine. He was one of the first to point out that Luther, by liberating the Word and the Spirit, had set off revolutionary impulses in the parsonages which were still undergoing transformation. German Idealism, he thought, was a late form of that revolution.

Early on, Grundtvig developed a taste for the ideas and activities which were to preoccupy him throughout his life: (1) the Nordic pagan myths, which he first heard from his mother; (2) Lutheranism, especially the hymns and the Little Catechism; and (3) the study of history. His father's library, which consisted chiefly of theological treatises, contained a few works by Danish authors on universal and Danish history, and these the boy devoured.[13] After being tutored privately by his father and then by another minister, he attended gymnasium in Aarhus and in 1800 entered the University of Copenhagen as a theology student. As a mature man, Grundtvig claimed frequently to have disliked intensely his formal schooling, but it has been argued that he habitually exaggerated this matter and that independent evidence shows him to have been an eager pupil.[14] In any case, he acquitted himself in a respectable fashion both at gymnasium and the university. Later, in fact, when he was attacking the use of Latin in the schools, he would often take care to point out first that he himself had received a good grade in his Latin examinations. While he was at the university, Gruntvig's historical interests continued to be keen; he taught himself Icelandic so that he could read the old chronicles.

Denmark in 1800 (which included Norway, Slesvig, and Holstein) was a prosperous agricultural kingdom ruled by the nobility and the upper classes. The peasants, who had been released from feudal tenure and granted land by royal decree in 1788, comprised about 85 percent of the population. In the larger towns, and in the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, the most pervasive cultural influence came from Germany. The cultured classes spoke and read German; quite a few were actually half-German. Although many Danes—for example, the great playwright and poet of the eighteenth century, Ludvig Holberg—admired intellectual trends in England, the institutions and general stamp of Danish cultural life resembled most closely the kind to be found in German towns. As we shall see, Grundtvig's ideas were very definitely in the German tradition, despite the fact that his visits there had turned him into a "realist."

The seminal intellectual event of Copenhagen in decades, an event regarded as a landmark by all Danish cultural historians, was a series of lectures presented in 1802 by Henrik Steffens, a young Norwegian who had studied with Schelling in Germany. Steffens electrified his audiences with the new (for Denmark) doctrines of romanticism, and he is credited with having inspired the Danish romantic poetry movement led by Adam Oehlenschleager. Grundtvig, who was living in Copenhagen at the time of the lectures, was a member of the audience. His diaries indicate, however, that he was quite uncomprehending and unmoved by Steffens's ideas. It was only after an abortive love affair with a married woman in 1805 (an affair acknowledged by all to be one of the central events of Grundtvig's life), when he experienced a kind of spiritual awakening, that he began to read German romantic poetry and philosophy.[15] Between 1805 and 1810, he steeped himself in the works of Herder, Schelling, Fichte, and Schlegel.

A terrible depression descended on Grundtvig in 1810, a depression so debilitating that he had to be sent home to his father's rectory at Udby. Wrestling with Lutheran doctrine, romantic philosophy, sexual temptations, and hallucinations of the devil, he turned simultaneously to a literal interpretation of the Bible and to a pantheistic conception of Christ.

> The eyes of my soul were opened and saw the edge of the abyss,
> Searched then steadfastly and minutely for a Saviour and found,
> Wherever its glance fell, God everywhere.
> Found Him in the songs of the poet,
> Found Him in the word of the prophet,
> Found Him in the myths of the North,
> Found Him in the rolling of the ages,
> Yet, then clearest and surest,
> Found Him in the Book of books.[16]

Although he did not recover completely from his emotional collapse until about 1823, he was able to work and to write again by 1811. He now fused his abiding passion for history with his Bible Christianity, and he wrote a sort of universal Christian history called *Kort Begreb af Verdens Kronike i Sammenhaeng* [Brief Conceptions of World Chronicles], which was published in 1812 and managed to infuriate the entire educated class of Copenhagen. The rationalist-oriented clergy in Copenhagen had in any case disliked Grundtvig from the day of his 1810 probationary sermon, "Wherefore has the Word of the Lord vanished from His House?", and he was not able to obtain a first pastoral appointment until 1822. Even then, official objection to his unfashionable pietistic views compelled his resignation by 1826, and he was forced to subsist as best he could on the tiny income from his writings and the generosity of his friends.

Denmark had in the meantime experienced a series of political and military disasters. Forced into war with England because of its alliance with Napoleon, Denmark lost its entire fleet in the 1807 bombardment of

Copenhagen. In 1814, Denmark had to surrender Norway to Sweden. The economy was totally ruined; for years to come, Denmark was to be a provincial backwater, devoid of power and influence in European affairs. Quite understandably, England was for a time regarded as the enemy; "perfidious Albion," that "nation of shopkeepers," was considered to be a haven for materialism, for all that was antithetical to culture. Grundtvig shared these sentiments, but he nonetheless asked the king to send him to England so that he might be able to examine, in connection with some of the historical studies he was doing, various Anglo-Saxon manuscripts housed in the British Museum. The king agreed to supply financial support for the summer of 1829, and he renewed the grants for the summers of 1830 and 1831.

The visits to England sharpened considerably Grundtvig's sense of being Danish. He felt very much a foreigner in London. It would have been strange if this were not so. Denmark was an overwhelmingly rural kingdom, and Copenhagen was a sleepy provincial town. As E. J. Hobsbawm has noted of the period, "The world of agriculture was sluggish . . . that of commerce, manufactures, and the technological and intellectual activities which went with both, was confident, brisk, and expansive.[17] Grundtvig was certainly impressed immediately by the bustling atmosphere in English cities; on every side, he saw men energetically at work and machinery of incredible design. It never occurred to him for a moment to attribute England's bustling atmosphere to its industry and commerce; instead, he laid the cause of the industry and commerce to England's mighty spirit—to the belief that the native English spirit had freed itself from the dead hand of Rome which still dominated the continent. Grundtvig compared the steamhammers he saw to the wonderful Thorshammer of Nordic mythology; he argued that the proof of England's magnificent fighting spirit lay in the fact that the English had even managed to place mathematics, the deadest and emptiest branch of knowledge, into "the mighty stream of living activity," so that it acted as a lever for accomplishing tasks too heavy for the combined hands of the "fighters."[18] Grundtvig admitted that England was a tedious country in which to live in terms of the satisfactions of house and home and daily bread—the inns were unpleasant, the houses closed in like fortresses, and a stranger was either left to himself, like an owl among crows, or else it was impressed upon him that for an Englishman to spend half an hour talking to a foreigner involved self-sacrifice. Nonetheless, Grundtvig could only admit that Denmark had somehow fallen behind England in a fundamental way, that Denmark had not yet evoked the proper fighting spirit and that the reason for this was that the English, by using their mother tongue instead of a foreign language, had been able to unleash their unique spiritual essence.

In a lecture he gave on November 16, 1838 (part of the series called *Mands Minde*), Grundtvig declared that the public merit of England did not lie in its air, its port, its roast beef and potatoes, or its machinery. It was the spirit of the people which mattered: "the invisible life force common in greater or lesser degree to all those who have a mother tongue in common—a life force whose element is free activity and whose breath is the mother tongue."[19] Furthermore, this spirit or life force borne on the breath of the English mother tongue was none other than "the imcomparable heroic spirit of the North, once widely known, now misjudged or forgotten."[20] Grundtvig certainly did not consider English political institutions to be responsible for what he admired; he was never in any sense a liberal and never supposed that external institutions could alter the inner spirit. Many Danish writers have accepted Grundtvig's own assessment of his visits to England as marking a sharp turning point in his life and as giving him a new sense of "reality"; however, Erica Simon maintains—and I agree with her—that the English journeys broadened the scope of Grundtvig's views but did not essentially change them.

Grundtvig's return from his final visit to England in 1831 coincided with new political developments in Denmark. The Paris July Revolution of 1830 had inspired some clamor in Denmark for greater popular participation in government. The king, still an absolute monarch, agreed that some purely advisory assemblies might be elected, and he further stipulated that a few of the assembly members might be peasants. Grundtvig now became politically active, arguing that the peasants must be taught Danish history so that they could properly understand and articulate the true spirit of the Danish folk. He proposed that a folk high school be established in Soro to further the natural Danish spirit as opposed to the artificial spirit exemplified by the Latin schools and by the German spirit floating about the Danish upper classes. Grundtvig attracted large audiences to a series of lectures he gave in 1838 in Borchs Kollegium, Copenhagen, and he poured forth the ideas and dreams which had filled his mind since childhood—God, history, the Nordic myths, and the Danish language—in a new spiritual combination which was to help spark a cultural renaissance for rural Denmark. The lectures centered mainly on modern history (history which had taken place in Grundtvig's lifetime).

Inspired by Grundtvig's speeches and publications, a movement called *Danske Samfund* [the Danish Association] was founded, and branches sprang up all over the country. National folksongs and rousing hymns, many of them composed by Grundtvig, were featured at association meetings. Despite some official opposition (such as that demonstrated by the Liberal government in 1848 to what was termed "exaggerated Danism" and a continued official refusal to found the suggested national folk high school), the Grundtvigian influence spread through rural Denmark and the demand for a "people's" education grew steadily stronger. The new nationalist sentiments among Danish peasants quite naturally caused practical difficulties in Slesvig, where the *embetsmenn* (civil servants of high rank who had university degrees and appointments from the king) were Germans educated at the University of Kiel. It was in Slesvig, not surprisingly, that the first folk high school, financed by private donations, was built in 1844 for the avowed aim of fostering Danish culture and the Danish language.

Nationalist feeling in Denmark was strengthened enormously by the 1848-1850 war with Germany over Slesvig. More Grundtvig disciples sprang up; one of them, Christen Kold (1816-1870), was to be an exceedingly important leader in the folk high school movement. The resounding 1864 defeat of Denmark by Prussia, which resulted in the loss of Slesvig and Holstein, inspired the founding of the famous folk high school at Askov, just across the border from Prussian-held Jutland. The Askov school was regarded as a spiritual fortification, providing support for and preservation of the folk spirit for those Danes now under Prussian rule.

Commencing with the reign of Queen Caroline Amalie in 1848, Grundtvig enjoyed royal favor. The new Danish hymnbook issued by the state church included many Grundtvig hymns, and he was granted the title of bishop in 1861. When he died in 1872, his coffin was accompanied through the streets of Copenhagen by thousands of people singing the hymns he had written. The once-ridiculed pastor had become in the last thirty years of his life the symbol of Denmark's nineteenth-century national revival.[21]

Grundtvig was not the kind of thinker who presents reasoned arguments. He was first and foremost a moralist, who tirelessly exhorted his listeners to follow the chosen path. His turgid prose style inevitably evokes in the reader thoughts of Sunday sermons, and many of Grundtvig's essays were in fact delivered first as lectures. If driven to explain why he was advocating a certain course, he often fell back on the explanation of "the Danish spirit" coursing through him. He was clearly a visionary, convinced that God had chosen the Danes for the task of returning ancient glories to the North. "Yes, gentlemen," he said in one of his 1838 lectures, "the old Nordic picture-speech was alive in me before I knew it, and it is the artery of the bard, but it is also the fountain for my world historical view and my research and, insofar as I have it, my historical wisdom."[22] His literary fame rests in large part, of course, on his poetry, and his hymns still form a major portion of those used in Danish church services. Grundtvig's output was absolutely prodigious; his collected prose works alone were published in a ten-volume edition. Then there are nine volumes of poetry and five volumes of songs; in addition, a tremendous manuscript collection in the Royal Library at Copenhagen contains many items as yet neither edited nor printed. The total number of pages Grundtvig wrote has been estimated to be thirty thousand.

"King and Folk, Fatherland, and mother tongue"—these were the pillars of Grundtvig's nationalism, and he deplored in 1836 the Danish habit of allowing an interest in foreigners and foreign things to override what ought to be so basic. His theme was that king and folk form the natural Denmark, whereas the word "state" can only be a designation for an artificial political device.

> The word "State" is, as we know, a foreign word, and signifies in itself just a kind of arrangement, which doesn't distinguish between authorities and those under them and the relationships between them, and can be used equally well for the Turkish sultan and the Mexican anarchy as for the kingdom of Denmark—and this language confusion is truly responsible for the equally lamentable and ridiculous conflict that now revolves around the state constitution, as if the chief question weren't how power is used but in whose hands it rests, not which laws ought to be passed but who passed them; in short, not on how good or how bad the civil society will be, but on who can command them and decree what he wants in the name of the state.[23]

Grundtvig could not be satisfied with mere procedures; procedures, he maintained, were often used to mask the true spirit, the true reality. Ministers who no longer had any genuine feelings about religion could nonetheless go on administering the sacraments and reciting traditional formulae; parliaments (like that in revolutionary France) could proclaim their love for humanity while promulgating horrible, inhumane deeds. Grundtvig denied empty ritual, mechanical activity, rote learning. These were a form of death. He sought in the spirit, the essence, the living, the natural. These were to be found in the community formed by those who spoke the same mother tongue.

To be natural is to be alive; to be artificial is to be dead. This dichotomy lies at the base of Grundtvig's beliefs. Just as it is natural for a child to speak his mother tongue, so it is natural for a people to speak its native language. Grundtvig was serious when he warned the Danes that their souls would shrivel if they continued to speak German. He mocked them with an old proverb about French clothes looking ridiculous during a Danish winter. Through language and history, a cultural nation is fashioned. Literature is the mirror of a people's spirit, and history is not only the record of a people's growth but the manifestation of God's divine plan. For Danes to fulfill themselves, to express their essential spirit, they must use their own language and know their own history. The curriculum of the folk high schools—from their inception until the end of the nineteenth century—was to be anchored in the use of Danish (particularly in folk songs and myths) and in Grundtvig's view of history.

Like Hamann and Herder, Grundtvig thought that language was the key to the understanding of God and of men; his conception of "the living word," which he used in several ways, is basic to his ideas on religion, history, and education. Man, Grundtvig held, is a being of spirit; it is his ability to speak which separates him from all other creatures. The living word carries the spirit from one man to another. God's historical plan, according to Grundtvig, centered upon the birth of Jesus. Events before that time were a preparation; events after that time were to be seen in terms of the spread of the word of God in a living chain from Jesus to his disciples, and then to generation after generation of Christians. In the theological sense in which he used the term, Grundtvig's "living word" was in the form of the Apostle's Creed; he thought that the handing down of the Creed provided a historical testimonial to the True Christianity. Genuine religion was contained in the living word; there was no need to bother with theological dogma, with the Latin nonsense put forth by the clergy.

Grundtvig thought that cultural nations, like individuals, passed through the various developmental stages of infancy, youth, maturity, and old age. Childhood and youth were supposedly marked by imagination, maturity by feeling, and old age by reflection. The time from Abraham to Moses, for example, formed the infancy stage for the Hebrews, while maturity ran from Moses to Solomon. Despite this use of biological anaology, however (which leads one to suppose that Grundtvig would have regarded all cultures as natural in some sense), he insisted that certain nations were natural whereas others were artificial. He had in mind particularly the Romans and the Hebrews, whom he regarded as artificial, as opposed to the Greeks and the men of the North, who were natural. His notion of "the North" was quite unique, for he included Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and Icelanders plus Goths, Langobards, the English, and the Saxons—the last four groups on the grounds that they were descended from tribes which dwelled originally in Scandinavia. Except for the curious twist in connection with the North, Grundtvig's views are not dissimilar to those of many German Protestant writers of his period and a bit earlier. Rome was after all the symbolic seat of Catholicism, and good Lutherans tried to cut off all contact with the place. Greece, on the other hand, could be linked with paganism comfortably, and paganism was important because it connected with the *Ur*spirit of the Germanic tribes. Furthermore, the language of Rome was associated with the oppressive ruling classes and with the repression of the vernacular, so that there were a multitude of reasons for hating Latin and (since a language expresses the spirit of a people) the Romans. Latin was a universal, cosmopolitan, rounded-off vehicle associated with the clergy and with bureaucrats; such a language could not express the homely, crude, particular, "natural" aspects of life. It was a fantastic relief for a man to be able to write freely in the language of his childhood, to be able to express for a literate public what had previously been inexpressible. "Latin's ruling time has been poetry's hell," Grundtvig announced.[14]

Herder had expounded on nations in terms of biological analogy, and Grundtvig followed him. The natural community, according to Herder, grows spontaneously like a plant; it is not pinned together artificially by law or by force. Each nation has a unique spirit. From *Vater* Jahn Grundtvig borrowed the word *Volkstümlichkeit* (a word first used by Jahn in 1810 in his book *Deutsches Volkstum*), which referred to this unique spirit, and he translated it into the Danish *Folkelighed.* A fourteen-stanza poem by Grundtvig entitled "*Folkeligheden*"[25] (1848) contains many revealing lines:

Folk! hvad er vel Folk igrunden?
Hvad betyder 'folkeligt'?

Er det Naesen eller Munden,
Hvorpaa man opdager sligt?

Byrd og Blod er Folke-Grundl, Ikke Luft og mindre Staal,
Faelles Ord i Folke-Munde, Det er Folkets Modersmaal,
Som det klinger, som det gloder, Saa hos Danskere og Joder
Holder det i skjulte Baand, Luftens eller Himlens Aand. . . .

Faaer vi aegte Danske Love, Danske Skoler splinternye,
Danske Tanker, Danske Plove, Rinder op vort gamle Ry:
"Dansken, lykkelig begavet, Boer med Fred og Fryd paa Havet";
Da er Folkets Daad og Digt, Da er alting folkeligt.

Folk! What is "the folk" at bottom?
What does "folkeligt" denote?
Is the nose or is the mouth
The means by which one fathoms it?

Birth and blood are the people's basis,
Not the air and less the steel,
The common word in the people's mouth,
That is the people's mother tongue.
That which rings, that which glows,
Among the Danes as among the Jews,
Holds within in hidden bond,
The spirit of the heavens.

If we're to have real Danish law,
Danish schooling freshly new,
Danish thinking, Danish plowing,
Our oldtime fame we must renew. "Danes, so fortunately gifted,
Live with peace and joy at sea";
That is the people's song and deed,
That is all which is "*folkeligt*."

Like Herder, Grundtvig was deeply moved by the sense of belonging to a group or community; he didn't think it possible to be fully human, to live a creative life, except in terms of the speech and the tradition into which one was born. If one imitated models from other cultures instead of relying on the inner spirit, the result would be empty formula, meaningless ritual, cultural decay, and death.

Cultures foreign to one's own, Grundtvig thought, could be understood only by a kind of intuition or empathy; one must be able to get "inside" a culture. The best way to do this is through language and literature. Grundtvig followed Herder and other German romantics in admiring extravagantly Shakespeare's plays as the lusty expression of the unique English spirit (a spirit supposedly much closer to the German or Danish spirit than to that of the French). He tutored his own children in Greek, for he thought that some students ought to know Greek and Icelandic so that they might understand something of the Greek spirit and of the Northern spirit at the height of their glory. At the same time, a German or Dane, no matter how much he studied Greek, must never imagine that he really *was* Greek—that, for example, he could write plays in the form of Greek tragedy. Language is powerful, but the mother tongue is all-powerful.

Like Herder, too, Grundtvig held in theory that the spirit of one nation was as valid as the spirit of another—each nation created by God, each like a single instrument in a vast symphony orchestra or a single flower in a wonderful, varied, colorful garden. In one of the lectures in *Mands Minde,* Grundtvig presented an exceedingly sympathetic account of the work of *Vater* Jahn in reviving the cultural nationalistic spirit of Germany. (In current histories, of course, Jahn is usually treated as a rather revolting precursor to Nazism.) One can sense Grundtvig fairly trembling with rage as he tells the story of the official repression of the German student societies after the Jahn-led nationalist jubilee at Wartburg Castle on October 18, 1817. Grundtvig regarded the burning of books by the students as an innocent gesture to commemorate Luther's burning of the papal bull. In better times, he avers, the whole thing would have been treated as a student prank; in those dark days of Germany, however, the rulers were turning trivial events into major matters of state.[26] Grundtvig commented in the introduction to his lecture on Jahn that he had nothing against the German spirit per se, that he even admired it in many respects, but of course he didn't like the fact that the Germans always seemed to want to push their particular spirit on to him and other Danes.

Both Grundtvig and Herder claimed that each national spirit had a unique worth, and Grundtvig's assessment of Jahn was certainly sympathetic, but often their passionate patriotism did lead them into passing adverse judgments on certain cultures, especially the Roman and the Hebrew. Similarly, it comes as no great surprise to find that Grundtvig placed the men of the North in an exalted historical position. First off, he felt, the Goths were to be commended for having successfully turned back Roman military power in the West. Then the English, by developing the literary use of their mother tongue at an early stage, helped to break the hegemony of Latin which had persisted even after the breakup of the Roman Empire. Grundtvig was rather torn when he came to consider the Normans, for on the one hand they were of Scandinavian descent, but on the other they gave up their native speech for French, a Romance language. Still, he consoled himself, they did write in their native dialect of French, thus resisting Rome to a certain degree. Both the English and the Normans are overshadowed for Grundtvig, however, by the magnificent Icelanders, whose civilization came to full flower in the medieval period. He saw the Crusades as the supreme culmination of the Middle Ages, as a great battle for a Christian cause led by the magnificent men of the North. Like all the German romantics, he rejected the "Dark Ages" conception of the medieval era. In fact, he thought the Renaissance and neo-classicism hateful because he regarded them as attempts to bring back Roman culture. The Reformation, fortunately, broke the power of the Roman Church, and Grundtvig was confident that a new day was once again about to dawn, that a revival of the fighting Northern spirit was about to commence. Thus, when Grundtvig called to his fellow Danes to awaken, he was urging that they take their rightful place in history and serve the cause of God. Although every nation supposedly possessed a spirit equally valid in God's domain, the Danes were after all for Grundtvig a chosen people. In his eyes, the Danish cause was not merely for the Danes alone, but for all the North, for humanity, for Christianity, for Providence, for God Almighty.

Grundtvig's heavy intellectual debts to German philosophers, and especially to Herder, are quite obvious. He placed a different twist on their ideas because of his Danish patriotism, and he was more of an old-fashioned pietistic Lutheran than most of the German romantics, but he adopted the basic anti-Enlightenment position and was wildly excited by the new views of language and history. In commenting on Henrik Steffens's impact on the intellectual circle of Copenhagen, Grundtvig said:

> He stood in a new relationship with the philosopher Schelling, the poets Tieck and Novalis and the Schlegel brothers; in short, with all the leaders of the so-called new school in Germany, who were educated in the last years of the eighteenth century, and were here almost unknown except through rumor; they were like a mad contradiction to the whole of eighteenth-century poetry, history, physics, philosophy, theology, art, and science. . . . A German revolution in the learned world much more cruel than the French revolution in bourgeois society, and which into the bargain was in direct opposition to the French revolution, depicted by the new school as a vulgar tragi-comedy, carried on by inmates of the madhouse which had been built by Voltaire and his ilk and termed Wisdom's Temple.[27]

The questionable history of the North which Grundtvig concocted seems quite comic viewed through modern eyes, but it was not unlike the histories being written by other Scandinavians smitten with romantic fever. Oskar Falnes, in his interesting *National Romanticism in Norway,* has outlined the views of some of the Norwegian historians of the 1850s, and these are similar to Grundtvig's. The special spirit of a people was held to be impaired if there was too much contact with foreign influences and foreign languages. In the case of the Norwegians, the feared foreign influence was Danish rather than German; hence, the Norwegian historians spent their time attempting to construct theories of history which would deposit the true spirit of the North with them rather than with the Danes. They, too, were enthusiastic about philological investigation.

> They felt it to be the "pride of their century," the "thread of Ariadne" which led them through the labyrinths of tribal relationships and migrations, and disclosed what they were most anxious to know about early national affinities. They expected comparative philology to prove as important for historical research as the perfecting of the steam engine had been in the industrial field.[28]

Since the peasants were the most isolated from foreign corruption, they were held by the romantic historians to be the repository of the genuine national spirit. They were thought to belong to the earlier world of fancy and folklore, when the national spirit was young. Unfortunately, just as the romantics discovered these pure souls, the peasants were uncooperatively beginning to respond to modern conditions and desert their assigned role as guardians of the tradition. To reverse this trend, the romantic historians thought, one must ignite in the peasant a respect for his customary or traditional way of life. Grundtvig's scheme for the folk high school was a typically romantic response to a situation regarded as potentially catastrophic. One should note, by the way, that there was no necessary connection between this type of concern for the peasant and any moves toward political democracy. Grundvig was a monarchist, and he saw no reason for democracy if the king was already governing in the true national interest. He argued, in fact, that if the inner spirit of a people was respected by their king, then the subjects were actually experiencing *self*-government—a theoretical position quite popular in Germany. As it happened, however, the Grundtvig-inspired folk high schools became training centers for the leaders of the rural-based Danish Venstre (Left) party.

Grundtvig's preoccupation with the kindling of the Danish national spirit inevitably entailed a vital interest in education, although he was never particularly concerned with child pedagogy as such. Children were best off at home with their mothers, he believed, for their primary education was not to be found in books but in practical life. He did not totally reject the common school (although he was opposed to compulsory schools), but he thought its function should be limited strictly to the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Certainly there should be no religious training in school, for it could only result in a spiritless kind of affair. Since childhood was the time of imagination, children could be expected to respond sympathetically to the myths and stories connected with the period when the culture was in its early imaginative stage. They should be taught in a lively way, Grundtvig said, and he suggested that many of the lessons could be offered in the form of songs.

The idea of a non-Latin type of high school occurred to Grundtvig as early as 1807, but his thoughts on the subject were initially very vague. He talked of a folk-historical education several times between 1815 and 1818 in his journal *Dannevirke*, and he continued to play with the idea through the 1820s. It was only after his return from England, however, that he began to articulate his hopes in a more precise manner. He suggested, in connection with his argument that the peasants must know their country's history in order to give intelligent advice when serving on the advisory assemblies, that Soro Academy, once a school for the children of nobelmen and now no longer used, be converted to a folk high school.

> If *Folkelighed* is to thrive in our time, if the folk spirit is to prevail, if the advisory assembly is to be in a position to give radical advice, there must be founded as quickly as possible, better today than tomorrow, a folk or patriotic high school or (the name has little or nothing to do with the matter) educational institutions, open to all the young of the populace, in which the mother tongue will have absolute power, and in which the uncomplicated but magnificent task is to enlighten the people as to their own natural temperament and their fatherland.[29]

Three essays published between 1836 and 1838 contain attempts to outline the kind of school which could inspire the love of fatherland and the blossoming of the mother tongue. It was to be open to all adults who wished to attend (Grundtvig believed that eighteen years was the minimum receptive age for being able to grasp the spiritual significance of life; at eighteen, one entered the "age of feeling"). There would be no examinations of any sort, and the students could choose from the courses offered those they thought might benefit them as citizens. The teaching style was to be as far removed as possible from academic lectures; songs and so-called "free talks" would be the main vehicle, with a "poetic-historical" approach permeating all subjects. Grundtvig harshly criticized the existent schools, with their empasis on rote learning and bookishness. These were schools for death. The folk high school would be a school for life, its main concern the spiritual development of the students.

For a time, King Christian VIII was exceedingly interested in Grundtvig's plan for Soro; he issued a decree in 1847 on founding the school but died before the decree was implemented. Grundtvig was unable to get the matter taken up again; the minister for church and education referred acidly to the folk high school project as "a kind of educational institution monopolized by Danishness."[30] In addition to the Soro plan, Grundtvig worked on the notion of a Nordic high school to be located in Sweden. It was to be both a folk high school and a training institution for civil servants of all the countries of the North. He painted glowing pictures, based heavily on impressions of college life which he had observed during brief visits to Oxford and Cambridge, of the delightful fellowship which would develop among all those interested in participating in a Northern cultural life and in furthering Northern art, science, and education.

Grundtvig's disciples, most of whom were theological students, carried forward the folk high school idea; between 1848 and 1900 they established an enormous number of schools. These schools varied somewhat in instructional style, but a pietistic atmosphere was common to all. Great emphasis was placed on keeping the schools homelike; the students were considered to belong to one large family. The wives of the teachers played a very important role, for their ability to maintain a warm and friendly house atmosphere greatly affected the spiritual fellowship. Reminiscences of life in folk high schools refer constantly to the very special kind of warmth experienced, and the accounts are strikingly similar to the Lutheran parsonage literature described by Minder.[31] The simple life, the inner light, spirtual harmony, being at one with nature—all these are stressed again and again. Bible stories, hymns, national folk songs, and Grundtvig's historical theories formed the foundation for awakening the students to the importance of the Danish cultural heritage. Grundtvig's *Handbook of Universal History* was a favorite text.

Over the years, the folk high schools shifted considerably from the "poetic-historical" view of life associated with Grundtvig. The natural sciences made inroads into the curriculum; books and writing cut into the province of the living word. Singing remained important, and so did the idea of history as a kind of unbroken chain. "It is perceived that generation follows generation and unites all in a great human fellowship, in which those who have gone before are absorbed in a mighty spirit, which recreates its forms through time."[32] Furthermore, the idea persisted that the school must be a home and not an impersonal institution; the teachers and students must form a family group. Most important, certain notions of romantic nationalism appeared to be built into the very conception of a folk high school. Consider this statement, for example, by Holger Begtrup, formerly of the Fredericksborg High School:

> The folk high-schools of Denmark are not the product of a scientific doctrine of education, and have nothing to do with any carefully devised educational system. Let that first be clearly understood. They came into being as a young tree grows out of the Danish soil. . . . The idea which gave them birth was not conceived in the mind of a college professor; it was conceived in that of a prophet, a spiritual genius who understood the life and mind of his people throughout the ages.[33]

In 1934 Koppel S. Pinson published a study of *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism*[34] His thesis was that "certain intellectual, psychological, and emotional reactions engendered and developed within the religious sphere of Pietism, came in the course of time to be transferred to the realm of nationalism and nationality."[35] The cultural nationalists, Pinson argued, were in fact "enlightened Pietists," men who shared the emotional attitudes of the Pietists but who could no longer find sufficient support solely in the doctrines of Christianity.[36] He thought that there was a clear parallel between the pietistic experience of *Wiedergeburt* (regeneration, such as that experienced by Grundtvig after his emotional collapse in 1810) and the notion of national revival. The importance of *Gemeinschaft* in the religious sphere was likewise a pietistic development, according to Pinson, and his book included a detailed discussion of the work of Count Zinzendorf, who had an embryo theory of national religion. Many other aspects of pietism were also thought by Pinson to have a bearing on cultural nationalism: the emphasis on Jesus as a human and historical figure, the belief that the training of the heart is more important than the training of the intellect, the view that language is the expression of the inner spirit, and the strong emphasis on the importance of the vernacular. It can quite legitimately be argued, I think, that Grundtvig and his folk high school movement are an illustration of pietism as a factor in the rise of Danish nationalism. And it is just that curious combination of pietism-romanticism-nationalism which has made the folk high schools so unique.

Grundtvig constructed a national ideology and then roughed out a scheme for the kind of school in which that ideology could be transmitted. He was vitally concerned with the continuity of the Danish national tradition. It was imperative that the young be inspired with a feeling for the national community; otherwise, the heroic spirit of the North would remain forever dormant in Denmark. Grundtvig belongs historically with such nineteenth-century nationalist revival figures as *Vater* Jahn, Schleiermacher, and Hardenberg.[37] It is a serious misconception to suppose that the folk high schools, because they had no examinations and were based on voluntary attendance, were early versions of Summerhill. God, fatherland, and mother tongue—these were the essentials of Grundtvig's school. The notion of *Folkelighed,* "Volkishness," *Volkstümlichkeit* was absolutely essential to the nature of Grundtvig's mission. Yet despite the emphasis on blood and folk, on language and myth, on natural bonds, and on many of the other elements associated with the anti-Enlightenment German heritage, the Grundtvig movement in Denmark was never connected with racism or anti-Semitism. Furthermore, the schools were allied with the Venstre party of Denmark; Grundtvig himself, though a monarchist, always championed free speech, free press, and free religion. In Germany, "Volkish" thought was harnessed eventually to fascism; in Denmark, "Volkish" thought was linked with populism. Grundtvig was obsessed with the idea of *Gemeinschaft,* but always in conjunction with liberty and equality, peace, and freedom.

NOTES

1. Even Paul Goodman is a folk high school enthusiast. In *Compulsory Mis-Education,* he talks of the need for "colleges for the altogether non-bookish, who nevertheless want to be informed and cultured citizens, and to share in the experience of a college community. A model is at hand in the remarkable Danish Folk-Schools, where youngsters who have left school to go to work can return between the ages of 18 to 25." (New York: Vintage, 1966), p. 153.

2. See, for instance, Noëlle Davies's *Education for Life* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1931); or Sir Michael Sadler's introduction to Holger Begtrup's *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936).

3. The only book which seems to focus on Grundtvig's cultural nationalism is Erica Simon's *Réveil National et Culture Populaire en Scandinavie; La Genèse de la Hojskole Nordique, 1844-78* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960). Miss Simon is concerned only with Scandinavia, however, and she does not attempt to consider Grundtvig in terms of the German romantic nationalist tradition.

4. According to the Danish theologian Kaj Thaning, it is accepted dogma in Grundtvigian circles that Grundtvig is untranslatable because of being especially Danish. Even in two Danish books on the genesis of Grundtvig's ideas—*Grundtvig og Romantiken* by Carl Scharling (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag, 1947) and *Tilblivelsen af Grundtvig's Historiesyn* by William Michelsen (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag, 1954)—the stress is very definitely placed on a delineation of Grundtvig's differences from Fichte, Herder, Schelling, and Schlegel, even when the differences are trivial.

5. *Grundtvig: An Introduction* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951), p. 1.

6. Erica Simon has expressed a somewhat similar position: "Grundtvig est si spécifiquement danois qu'il est difficile, au contraire de son contemporain Soren Kierkegarrd, de le présenter aux lecteurs étrangers, qui du reste l'ignorent toujours. . . . Cependant on a pu dire de son oeuvre qu' 'elle est l'expression, non pas peut-être la plus claire, mais certainement la plus puissante, de la lutte spirituelle du peuple danois pour arriver à la conscience de lui même'" (*Réveil National*, p. 11).

7. John Dewey once observed that the nineteenth century was "the time when the idea of the *Volks-Seele*, the *Volks-Geist* was born; and the idea lost no time in becoming a fact." *German Philosophy and Politics* (New York: Holt, 1915) p. 82.

8. New York: Capricorn, 1961.

9. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964.

10. *Crisis of German Ideology*, p. 5.

11. "J.G. Herder," *Encounter* 25 (July 1965): 44.

12. "Das Bild des Pfarrhauses in der deutschen Literatur von Jean Paul bis Gottfried Benn," in *Kultur und Literatur in Deutschland und Frankreich; Fünf Essays* (Frankfurt: Im Insel-Verlag, 1962), pp. 44-72.

13. William Michelsen's study, *Tilblivelsen af Grundtvig's Historiesyn*, has information about every book Grundtvig read during his childhood.

14. See Scharling, *Grundtvig og Romantiken*, p. 10.

15. A well-known play by Kaj Munk, *Egelykke o gandre skuespil* (Copenhagen: Nyt & Nordisk Forlag, 1949) deals with Grundtvig's love affair and his subsequent "awakening." It was produced in 1940.

16. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Udvalg ved Georg Christensen og Hal Koch* (Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag, 1940-49), 10 vols., I, 310. English translation of poem in Lindhardt, *Grundtvig: An Introduction*, p. 20.

17. *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: Mentor, 1962), p. 35.

18. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Udvalg*, IV, 332-33.

19. Ibid., p. 335.

20. Ibid.

21. Grundtvig again became an important national symbol after the German invasion of Denmark on April 9, 1940. See William Michelsen, "Grundtvig og Danskheden," *Nordisk tidskrift för vitenskap, konst och industri 21* (1945):1-16.

22. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Udvalg*, IV, 336.

23. *Haandbog i N.F.S. Grundtvigs Skrifter*, I, ed. Ernst J. Borup and Frederik Schroder (Copenhagen: Hagerups Forlag, 1929-31), p. 21.

24. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Udvalg*, IV, 323.

25. *Folkeligheden* appeared originally in the journal *Danskeren*. Eight stanzas are reprinted in *Haandbog i N.F.S. Grundtvigs Skrifter*, pp. 191-92. For the lines I have translated, this is the original Danish.

26. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Udvalg*, IV, 319-20.

27. Ibid., IV, 297.

28. *National Romanticism in Norway* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 190.

29. Grundtvig, *Vaerker i Undvalg*, IV, 253.

30. Remark of Madvig's quoted in *Haandbog i N.F.S. Grundtvigs Skrifter*, I, viii.

31. Another series which corresponds to the literature Minder describes is the eight volume *Minder fra gamle Grundtvig'ske hjem* [Memories of Old Grundtvig Homes] (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gads Forlag, 1921-28, comp. by H. P. B. Barfod.

32. Begtrup, *Folk High Schools of Denmark*, p. 142.

33. Ibid., p. 79.

34. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934.

35. Ibid., p. 25.

36. Kaj Thaning, in his *Menneske Forst—Grundtvigs opgor med sig selv* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1963), sees the central theme of Grundtvig's intellectual life as the development from the *"bodskristendom"* (repentance-Christianity) of his childhood upbringing to a human or historical Christianity. Grundtvig reached his enlightened Christianity, however, via the path of the *Volksgeist*, the path of romantic nationalism.

37. Interestingly, Erica Simon, in trying to make a case for Grundtvig's "universality," argues that Grundtvig's modern parallel is Senghor of Senegal, and that the parallel to Grundtvig's *Folkelighed* is Senghor's concept of "negritude." "Grundtvigs universalitet," *Dansk Udsyn* 46 (1966):181-86.

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Mobilization and Renewal in Rural Denmark

H. Begtrup and H. Lund

The Rise of the Danish Peasantry

In one of the most famous Danish comedies, "Jeppe paa Bjerget," which was written in 1722, the author, Ludvig Holberg, portrays the transformation of a drunken Zeeland peasant into a country squire. One of the characters, a squire named Baron Nilus, finds the peasant drunk on a dung hill, and his servants devise a plan to bring the helpless fellow to the manor and lead him to believe that he is the baron. The plan succeeds, and peasant uses his power coarsely and foolishly until, again helplessly drunk, he is taken back to the dung hill. The comedy ends with a declamation by the baron of the moral of the piece:

> Of this adventure, children, the moral is quite clear:
> To elevate the lowly above their proper sphere
> Involves no less a peril than rashly tumbling down
> The great, who rise to power by deeds of just reknown.
> Permit the base-born yokel untutored sway to urge,
> The sceptre of dominions as soon becomes a scourge.
>
> Nay, never shall we tremble beneath a boor's dictates Or set a ploughman over us, as oft in ancient states . . .

Shortly after the farmers, in 1901, had formed a liberal government in Denmark, and farmers for the first time had secured places in the cabinet, "Jeppe paa Bjerget" was performed at the Royal Theater. When the moral was declaimed, there was enthusiastic applause from the Copenhagen audience. It was intended that the new peasant ministers should understand that the conservative bourgeoisie had the great author, Ludvig Holberg, on their side in opposition to the rule of the peasants.

In consequence of this event, one of the leading liberal papers wrote an article which attempted to show how inapplicable the moral of the play was to the current situation. The article stated:

> Since Baron Nilus played his joke on Jeppe, a remarkable change has taken place both in Jeppe and in the baron. Jeppe has stopped his drinking habits and begun to think over matters. He has applied himself to the development of his powers,and taught himself a number of useful things. One day, when Baron Nilus was in his best years, Jeppe was freed from serfdom, and then the affairs of the peasant rapidly improved. He has united with his fellow peasants, and cultivated his soil until it has far surpassed that of the baron. He has taken the lead in parish affairs, and has learned to interpret and administer the law. His naturally good brain has constantly improved, and when Jeppe's friends saw what he could do, they put the baron out of parliament and bade the peasant step in. His knowledge of parish matters led on to a comprehension of state affairs, and when he reached the stage when he understood them better than did the majority of men, and just as well as did the rest, he entered the cabinet chamber and said politely, "I beg your pardon, baron, this place is mine and you must go."
>
> The affairs of Baron Nilus, on the other hand, had gone very badly. What remained of his old refinement, his culture, and his interests? Nothing! In his old age he had grown as stupid as an ass, as ignorant as an ox, and as coarse as his baliff; and when one day they made him a cabinet minister, there was no end to the foolish things he did. All the country laughed at his folly, and Jeppe laughed the loudest.
>
> If Holberg, therefore, were in a position to rewrite the comedy, he would have to present a very different picture. He would have to reveal the stupid caste-proud Baron Nilus, whom Jeppe the peasant so wonderfully excelled. There would be no end to the tricks which Jeppe's inventive mind could devise in order to show the audience how vainly and ineffectively Nilus acted when by chance he gained power. . . . It would be a magnificent and edifying comedy, and all the people would cheer when Jeppe appeared and declaimed the moral:
>
> Of this adventure, children, the moral is quite clear:
> The lofty without glory our lots on earth can steer.
> The risk to folk and country one hardly need relate
> If we choose men as rulers because of their estate.
>
> Then at the plough with safety our leaders great we'll find,
> And leave our friend, the baron, in folly dazed behind.

These remarks contain a condensed account of much that is peculiar to Danish development during the last century or so. Denmark at the beginning of this period had a peasantry which, in its cowed state, was in no respect different from the peasantry of other countries. Yet, in the last several generations, these same peasants have become the leading class of Denmark. If the causes of this remarkable development are sought, the seeker will everywhere hear mention of the work of the Danish folk high schools. He will, now and then, even hear it said that this particular educational work has, more than anything else, contributed to this notable change in the position of the peasantry. It is, however, impossible to state in detail the exact extent of the influence exerted. Other influences have simultaneously been at work and it is not possible to separate the results of each. It is therefore our intention that this chapter, which it is hoped will serve as a means of spreading knowledge of the Danish folk high schools, should relate in broad outlines the recent history of the Danish peasantry. When the typical features of this history are given due prominence; it will again and again be seen that it is possible to reach a clear understanding of the rise of the peasantry from these schools for young adults.

The voluntary schools for adults in Denmark are called *folk* high schools; but this name indicates a program that exists in the ideal, rather than characterizes conditions as they actually are. The aim of the folk high schools has been, and is still, to become an educational institution for the whole people, for rich and poor, for town and country, for industrial workers and farmers. But so far, the great majority of the students of the high schools have come from the country, and particularly from the farming classes. Very few young people from the towns have attended the schools. In 1920-1921, out of 7,006 students, they numbered 348; and the inhabitants of the towns formed 43 percent of the total population. The students from the country come from the homes of farmers, artisans, tradesmen, teachers, and clergymen. In 1920-1921, the number of farmers' sons and daughters at the schools was 4,989, while those from other homes in the country made a total of 1,665. The latter class, however, has come to the schools especially during the recent years. The Danish high schools, then, have worked mainly among the farming population, and their history is so interwoven with the history of the farming classes and their rise to national dominance that, if their work is to be understood, it is necessary to know something about the conditions under which this section of the Danish people live.

At the close of the eighteenth century Danish landed proprietors, influenced by the Physiocrats, had carried through some very radical land reform legislation, and this had led to conditions very different from those which had prevailed for centuries previously. During the first half of the nineteenth century, these laws were completely established. The old system of communal tillage was discarded; the farmer, who formerly was a tenant of the manor, became a freeholder; serfdom was abolished; and the personal dependence of the peasant on the squire ceased. These reforms were of vital importance to the social development of Denmark. What was perhaps the most important was that, with the allotment of the land, the area of the manors was not extended, but all the soil which formerly had been cultivated by the village peasants in common now came into their personal possession. Through this Denmark escaped the danger of getting a numerous and powerful class of landed proprietors on the one side, and a poor country proletariat on the other; and through this the distribution of Danish soil such as obtains today was determined.

When the word *democratic* is used in reference to the distribution of property within Danish agriculture, it is intended to emphasize the similarity between the sizes of the allotments. An idea of this similarity can readily be formed from a perusal of Table 4.1, which shows figures relating to freeholdings in Denmark from 1800 to 1916.

TABLE 4.1

Land Tenure in Denmark, 1800-1916

Feeeholdings with land	*Years* *1800*	*1850*	*1885*	*1905*	*1916*
Above 100 ha*	1,800	1,878	2,041	2,093	1,963
From 12-100 ha	53,000	67,800	73,000	74,600	76,000
Under 12 ha	20,000	60,000	80,000	90,000	106,000

Total area of land in 1916

Above 100 ha	357,000 ha
From 12-100 ha	2,069,000 "
Under 12 ha	816,000 "

* One ha (hectare) = about 2.5 acres.

During the nineteenth century the number of freeholdings in Denmark doubled. In the year 1800 they totaled about 91,000, and in 1916 the figure was something like 184,000. That means that over 90 percent of the total holdings in Denmark are freeholdings. This notable change has taken place both through an increase of the medium-sized farms, *Gaardene,* the owners of which are called *Gaardmaend* (farm men) and through the advent of a number of small holders known as *Husmaend* (house men), who in past centuries were without any importance in Danish agriculture.

The rapid growth of the number of small holdings in Denmark has been made possible partly by a large reclamation of heath, moor, etc.[1] and partly by the fact that individual holdings have been reduced in size. This development happened while liberalism was the dominating economic policy in Denmark, and, generally speaking, it may be said to have taken place with the state as a passive spectator. During recent years, however, the establishment of about 10,000 small holdings has been due to state legislation; and an old law dating back to the time of absolute monarchy has afforded protection to the farms in their competition with the large holdings, and has prevented an indiscriminate division into small holdings.

The daily practice and routine of Danish holdings differ according to the size of the property. On the large estates the owner has no direct contact with the actual manual and technical work. He is so much in the background that even these duties are taken over by a manager. On these estates a relatively insignificant number of agricultural laborers find employment. On the average medium-sized farms, the owner, the *Gaardmaend*, joins with his helpers in the work of the field and stables. His fellow workers are either his own sons and daughters or the children of other farmers. These assistants work with the conviction that in due course they also will become independent landholders. On these farms the rising generation of farmers get their practical experience. The young people board and lodge on the farms, and this in most cases means that the employer's home is also their home, where they eat, work, and spend their leisure with the family.

Referring to this Professor W. J. Ashley writes:[2]

> Danish statistics interpreted with English prepossessions are apt to be misleading. For instance, it has been said that the proportion of labourers to farmers working on their own account does not differ as much as might be expected from the proportion of labourers to farmers working on their own land. In Wales, farmers numbered some 224,000 and "others engaged in agriculture" some 764,000, the proportion being about 23:77; in Denmark the respective numbers were 152,000 and 358,000, and the proportions 30:70. But, in fact, a very large number of these labourers are "Husmaend's" and "Gaardmaend's" sons, who not long after they have been confirmed, at the age of 14 or thereabouts, go to work for a few years on another farm and live with the farmer's family. They may work for a time, on two or three farms in order to get experience, but it is almost always their hope to succeed to their father's holding or to get a farm of their own, and this hope has largely been realized. . . . It is said on high authority, if a farmer with a place of the very common size of 50 or 60 acres, should happen to have 3 or 4 sons, he needs only 2 of them to help him, and the other one or two will stay away. The wife will do, perhaps, but little continuous or hard farmwork, but she will lend a hand with the harvest. And the assistance of the children begins at an early age.

The small holdings, owned by *Husmaend* fall into two groups. The larger contains about 70,000, each being worked by the owner and his family, and being their entire means of support; the smaller contains less than 40,000, each being insufficient to meet the needs of a family and making it necessary for the man either to take other work of a similar kind with strangers, or to procure an extra income as an artisan or in some other way.

In speaking of the history of the Danish peasantry, the people alluded to are, in general, the *Gaardmaend* and the independent *Husmaend*. To them, first and foremost, the distinctive character of Danish rural life is due; and it is especially from their homes that the students of the folk high schools have been recruited.

In the development of Danish life, these conditions of land ownership have been of very great importance. Where social gulfs are wide, class feeling and class distinction have an easy growth; but where, as in Denmark, the core of the social life is found in the work of many small and medium-sized independent farmers, and where, furthermore, the division between group and group is such that it is often difficult to distinguish between a small *Gaardmaend* and a *Husmaend*, and between a large *Gaardmaend* and a small land proprietor, there is no place for caste feeling and class struggle; and even if men, who borrow their words from countries with deep class divisions, have attempted to create rifts, the sense of fellowship and the recognition of common interests are still the strongest bonds that unite Danish farmers. *Gaarmaend* and *Husmaend* come from the same stock, and this is a fact of great importance. The children and grandchildren of the *Gaardmaend* constitute a large proportion of the *Husmaend*.

The freedom from internal social conflicts enjoyed by the Danish country population has meant that intellectual and spiritual pursuits have not been the privilege of particular groups but the common treasure of all. Further, the strong spiritual currents from church and people that have swept over the country population during the recent generations have done much to establish the plain, democratic character of the men and women, and to check influences tending to divisions.

The Nestor of Danish political economy, Professor Harald Westergaard, in his *Economic Developments in Denmark*[3] emphasizes that in Denmark, as in other countries, the gulf between nobility and commoners has been succeeded by the distinction between rich and poor. But, he adds, "It has been Denmark's good fortune that various circumstances have prevented this distinction from becoming very wide." If this be true of the people as a whole, it is especially true of the country population; and Denmark's "good fortune" is due to the "democratic" distribution of property and to the spiritual movements among Danish peasants that have created a fellowship in the quest for the joys and values of human life which, irrespective of class and profession, family and income, unite all.

The political ideas of the liberals did not begin to excerise any influence in Denmark until after 1830. Young university men and citizens were won over by the new ideas, and when the absolute monarchy ended in 1849, it was they who made the new constitution. This was based on a general suffrage—even in respect of the Upper House, and was in its time one of the most democratic constitutions in Europe. During the following years the same social class that created this constitution took the lead in Danish politics. National politics were marked by important laws which were decidedly liberal in character. Foreign politics, however, were hampered by great difficulties respecting the relationship to Slesvig and Holstein. The government was unable to cope with these difficulties and Denmark was consequently driven into the war with Prussia and Austria in 1864. In the unequal fight Denmark had to surrender; and by the peace terms formulated at Vienna, Denmark was compelled to cede to the victors not only the German parts of the two duchies, but also Danish North Slesvig. This defeat has been a very great influence in the development of Danish life, even to the present day. The lessons derived from the defeat led to the sweeping away of many old doctrines and beliefs; and the national grief gave birth to much of the new life which since has grown in the Danish people. During these years Danish folk high schools were established in large numbers.

In political life, the defeat caused an important change. The power of the former leading class was broken, and a new class claimed leadership. Before 1848 the Danish peasants had not played any part in the liberal movement, but under the free constitution their influences began to be felt. Their claims were dominated by merely economic and materialistic considerations, and the first peasant movement was, on the whole, based on class struggle. It made such rapid progress, especially in Zeeland, that the old liberals took fright and began to recede from their position in regard to general suffrage.

When, after the defeat of 1864, certain changes in the constitution were made necessary by the new boundary, the national liberals used the opportunity to overthrow the power wielded by general and equal suffrage in the Upper House and carried through a revision of the constitution which gave the majority of the seats in the Upper House to the wealthy citizens and the landed aristocracy. This caused a great fight which continued until 1901; and the issues were indeed not finally settled before 1915, when equal voting rights were again established in the Danish constitution.

In this struggle, it was the peasants who became the backbone of the army of democracy; it was not "Bondevennerne" (The Friends of the Peasants), as the adherents of the old class politics were called. As early as the fifties, there was formed a group of peasants, clergymen and teachers who were influenced by Grundtvig. They cooperated with Bondevennerne in social affairs, but were more insistent in their adherence to the principle of equal suffrage. From 1864 it was more and more they who took the leadership of the opposition; and when in 1870 the various sections of the opposition united and formed a large Left party, it was the Grundtvigian section that influenced and guided it. This means that during these years, beside the questions relating to general suffrage, church and school matters occupied a central position in the interests of the peasant opposition.

This struggle for the general suffrage which, in the seventies, became a fight for a parliamentary system after the English model, was at rock bottom a struggle between the old classes composed of the landlords and the middle class of the towns, and the new class—the peasants. their democratic movement and desire for the establishment of general suffrage was not the result of abstract theories respecting the people's rights and so forth; it sprang from a living faith in the forces that were at work in the classes to which general suffrage gave power. There was a strong confidence in the capacity of the Danish peasant.

Shorty after the events of 1864, the leading weekly newspaper of the Left party or Venstre expressed this view:

> The classes of society which have had the power up to this time have not been equal to their tasks. They bear the responsibility of the defeat of 1864; and at the head of the government there is now a new king who is of another house,[4] and foreign to the people. In the midst of this darkness there is only a gleam of light, and that is that there is still a large part of the people, the whole peasant class, whose power has not yet been tested and still remains unspent.

The paper adds several items of evidence which show how this class, which for centuries had not counted much in the life of the people, was now awakened to a consciousness and understanding of its duties, and mentions as an example the fact that many folk high schools were being formed, and that the bulk of their students were being drawn from this new class.

One of the most beautiful expressions of this faith in the peasants came from one of the leaders of the Venstre when referring to the centenary of Grundtvig's birth. Alluding to the peasantry, he quoted the two lines from Grundtvig's song about the common soldier:

O, what high souls
Here in lowliness dwell!

A poet who had closely associated with Grundtvig and the Venstre lamented in a poem relating to these years that "our mother's house" had fallen into decay, and declared the great duty to be the raising of its sunken walls. He urged the peasant to undertake that work of reconstruction.

Forward to help in the hour of need
With the treasure you have in store.
With the people's slumbering strength and wits.
On! peasant, on!

Nowhere was this faith more vital than in the circle of Grundtvig and his friends within and outside the peasant class. Indeed, it was hinted that they had "fallen in love with the peasants."

The faith in the peasants found a beautiful literary expression in the peasant stories of Bjornstjerne Bjornson, the Norwegian poet, who for many years was deeply influenced by Grundtvig and always in close contact with Denmark. In the history of the folk high schools there is an indication of this faith in the account of how fine young university men during these years forsook official careers and, in difficult circumstances and humble surroundings, engaged in folk high school work among the peasant youth.

Such a faith is not to be explained on merely "rational" grounds; but it is clear that at this time there were certain features of the life of the peasantry which inspired faith. That it was the peasants who used the new folk high schools, and by their help created a new people's culture, has already been stated; and the peasants' skill in economic matters and in the forming of cooperative organizations will be related in a later section. Throughout the peasantry during these years there was a remarkable fullness of life. No class understood so well how to create its leaders and call forth ideal representatives of its character and will. "As the time from 1830 to 1870 is marked by a line of leaders from the university world, by the cream of the learned sons of the citizens, the time after 1870 is known not least by the line of peasant chiefs, which occupies a prominent place in the portrait gallery of the period."

All this naturally gave the peasants self-confidence and wholesome self-assertation. They possessed faith in the future and courage to set to work, while in the other classes doubt and barren defection had taken root.

In a remarkable manner the peasants, in the twenty years following 1864, with the outside support of Grundtvig and his friends, were the one and only class to bear the standard of democracy forward. It must not be supposed that peasants over the whole country were with the movement from its beginning, but the political awakening spread from district to district, frequently following the traces of the popular awakening. The towns, on the other hand, rigidly guarded their doors against the movement. A few instances will show how sharply the towns were separated politically from the country. In an 1866 election in the East Jutland constituency of Horsens, which consists of the town of Horsens, a number of villages, and the island Endelave, Jessen, the former National Liberal minister, gained 1,394 votes, of which 1,284 came from the town, 86 from the island, and 42 from the country. His opponent Jens Jorgensen, a Grundtvigian peasant of the Left, received 1,345, of which 1,342 were from the country and 3 from the town of Horsens. At the next election Jorgensen was the victor with 1,391 votes, all of which came from the country; the three votes from Horsens in the intervening period had disappeared. In another East Jutland constituency, Aarhus, the National Liberal in the election of 1866 captured 1,100 votes, of which 32 were from the country; the Left candidate got 806, of which 20 were from the town. In the capital, Copenhagen, which in the seventies was a town of about 200,000 inhabitants, the candidate put up by the left opposition in the election of 1872 gained 478 votes, while in 1873 he won 340; in 1876, 1,195; in 1879, 761; and in 1881, 1,295.

The breaking of this united front against the Left first began in the eighties. This was caused in part by the rising socialist labor movement, and partly by a new liberal movement which, influenced by the views advanced by the critic Georg Brandes, aimed at bringing into force the radical-liberal doctrines which were general in Europe.

When democracy, bearing the seal of the peasantry, won its way forward from election to election and soon had a considerable majority of representatives in the Lower House, the opponents of the parliamentary system, in their unreasoned ill-will toward the new ideas, infringed the Constitution when handling finance by adopting Supply, which was not voted by Parliament. The opponents of the parliamentary system, known in history as the Estrup Ministry, did what Charles I did in England with regard to ship money—they incurred expenditure year after year, to which the Lower House was bitterly opposed. This happened first in 1877, and later in 1885-1894. An attempt was made to cover up this violation of constitutional law with some doubtful interpretations of a few paragraphs from the constitution, but the majority of people felt that a gross violation had occured, and this feeling in certain circles of the peaceful peasant population created revolutionary possibilities. The outcome of it was that the majority held by the Democrats was further secured during these years. The ministry which was responsible for the unconstitutional management of finance retained power for nineteen years, and it was not before 1894 that it was compelled to withdraw. But the court and the circles it supported were not yet prepared to hand over power until several conservative ministries had failed, and the conservative party in Parliament had been reduced to an inconsiderable group. The formulation of the Left ministry in 1901 not only meant a change of political parties, but was also evidence of an important social change. It was not only the trusted representative of the peasants who now directed state affairs but peasants themselves. Among the members of the first Left ministry were a Zeeland peasant and a West Jutland village school teacher.

During these years of constitutional struggle, the folk high schools exercised an important political influence. The schools did not take any part in the political agitation of the day. Indeed, most of them refrained from mentioning the prevailing strife, but the teaching of history they gave was characterized by a faith in the strength and powers of the common man, and by stress that was laid on the importance of freedom in a people. In large numbers the pupils of the high schools became the Left's leaders in the districts and in the Parliament.[5] An attempt was then made by members of the conservative government to reduce or withdraw the financial grants which the folk high schools received from the state, the intention being of course to make the work of the schools difficult. The attempt was not very successful, but it stirred a powerful resentment and was soon given up.

Danish political life took a new turn in 1901. During the generation of constitutional struggle practically all legislation had been stopped. Interest had been divided between the struggle itself and the dominating economic conceptions of liberalism. During the sixties about fifty new laws were made yearly[6] but in the eighties the yearly number was reduced to as few as three. The industrialization of the Danish people began in the sixties, and this created new social problems; but apart from individual new beginnings in the nineties, the problems received no attention from the legislature. The new circumstances demanded attention, and for this reason there occured in Danish political life a new orientation on social lines. The Social Democrats increased their number rapidly, and in 1924 they became the largest party in the country and took the reins of government. The large Left party, which had been formed to deal with problems of another kind, had experienced serious internal conflicts when facing the new demands; and these conflicts had resulted in a division between a larger group which adopted a moderate liberal attitude, and a smaller group whose direction inclined to radicalism. In both parties, the country population now forms the center of gravity; farm owners and small holders are found in both, but the farmers are more likely to be found among the moderates, while the small holders are more equally distributed among the two parties.

While during the constitutional struggle it could be said that the folk high schools had an especial connection with the Liberal party, this could not be said of the position today. When the high schools are attacked, on one occasion they are told that they are too closely related to the moderate party, and on another that they exercise an influence favoring the radicals. Most of the former high school pupils are to be found in the two Left parties, but there are also many among the Social Democrats.[7]

The most important social difficulties of the present day have their roots in the towns, and are associated with the so-called *Byerhverv* (town trades). Because of their remoteness from town conditions, the country people often find it difficult to understand the problems confronting the town workers. That there frequently is, however, a living social interest among the rural population, is clear. The strongest evidence of this is the following won among them by the ideas of Henry George. In Germany, England, and other countries, the single-tax movement is a town movement; but in Denmark, it is a movement of the farmers. Denmark's chief exponent of these ideas, S. Berthelsen emphasizes this point. He writes: "The cause of the Danish countryman's comparatively rapid acceptance of the principles of the Henry George reforms must in the first place be sought in the considerable influence and liberal-mindedness of our Grundtvig high schools. The deep and strong idea of justice on which the doctrine of the land-tax is built, found . . . ready understanding and acceptance among the most alert section of the Danish folk high school world."

The Danish peasantry at the beginning of the nineteenth century was an underclass. In sullen resignation, it spent its life in dependence on estate owners and government officials. It was without culture and technical skill, and was seldom able to rise above the level of a bare existence. The great agricultural reforms were carried through without the support of the peasants, who did not even understand the meaning of them. The "Great Committee for Agricultural Reform," in its preparatory work, had no use for a single representative of the peasant class. All the reforms were made for *the sake of the peasant,* but not *by* him. In the course of a century, this underclass has been changed into a well-to-do middle class which, politically and socially, now takes the lead among the Danish people.

In tracing the economic history of this development, it is found that during the first decades the peasant was free and had no qualifications enabling him to utilize the great possibilities opened up by the reforms. The leadership of the practical work did not rest with him, but was in the hands of the large estate owners and interested people outside the farming classes. Among the latter, the clergy, influenced by utilitarianism, played an important part.

It was, however, on the manors that practical progress was made: the draining of land was introduced, the swing-plough and the scarifier were employed, experiments with new forms of cultivation and new field plants were made, and methods to improve the breeds of cattle were adopted. The peasants were very slow in making use of the results of the new experiments.

It was also among the big landowners that an interest in agricultural theory was found. The most important agricultural journal was edited by two manufacturers and a merchant, and the chief contributors were clergymen, estate owners, tradesmen, and factory owners. Officials and people from industry and commerce, together with the larger estate owners, were behind the formation of the first agricultural societies. The most thorough guides in practical agriculture before 1850 were written by clergymen; and the series of publications which appeared in the thirties and forties describing farming in various districts of Denmark came from the pens of men belonging to the same circles.

Much of this work was philanthropic in character, being done by people outside the peasant class for the sake of the peasant. This philanthropy continued until about 1849, when the free constitution was carried through. The first tendencies to independence among the peasant were noticed in the shape of a class movement having for its purpose the enabling of tenants to become freeholders. At the same time, there was economic progress among the peasants, which set free some of the strength that hitherto had been completely absorbed in the struggle for daily bread. The men who did not belong to the farming class began to retire from the agricultural societies, of which, from the fifties, the peasants not only became members, but also began to be represented among the leaders. A growing feeling of independence and an increasing confidence in their own powers characterized the peasantry during the first years of the free constitution. This was most noticeable after the defeat of 1864. Several instances, taken from the records of the societies, illustrate the new spirit of the peasantry. The number of agricultural societies which were led by estate owners reached 20 in the forties, which means that there was one in each district. From 1850 to 1864 20 new ones were established; and after 1864, especially during the first years, a great many more were formed. In 1900 there was a total of 101, and more and more these became the peasants' own associations. There was a similar development with a branch of the farmers' associations.

Soon after 1800 a number of philanthropically minded men—outside the peasant class—formed the *Sparekasse*, a savings bank for the support of agriculture. In 1850 there were 37 *Sparekasser,* in 1865 there were 76, and in 1886 there were as many as 496. So rapid was the growth of banks that often parishes got their own banks. The direction of these banks almost everywhere came into the hands of the peasants. Danish economists explain this by referring to the economic progress of the peasantry, and also to the peasants' increasing pride in themselves.

But just as this movement toward independence was in full swing, the Danish peasant class was thrown into a very severe economic crisis. The crisis and its causes were common to several European countries., In the early seventies the countries around the Black Sea and the Baltic deposited their increasing corn stocks in the West European market. The result of this was significant, but yet more so was the fact that, a few years later, the enormous corn production of countries overseas—especially of North America and the Argentine—filled the European market, and forced the price of corn below that of the marginal corn production of the old European countries.

Denmark was injured more than any other country, for its agriculture was concerned essentially with corn production. Corn was the most important article of export; in 1865-1870 the average annual export of corn was valued at 36 and one half million kroner, whereas the export of cattle products amounted only to about 25 million kroner. Of the cattle products a good half consisted of livestock, the rest being meat and butter. Prices fell from year to year, as Table 4.2 shows.

While in several neighboring countries new tariffs were erected to protect the hard-pressed agriculture, such new measures were not adopted by Denmark. The peasants understood the meaning of the falling prices and altered their methods. They decided that corn should no longer be used for export; instead, it should be used as fodder at home—it should be converted into butter and bacon. They saw quite clearly that the breeding of cattle and swine should be extended, dairying started, and the field crops adapted accordingly. With unique ability and alacrity the Danish peasantry obeyed the demands of the new circumstances. The exportation of corn ceased, and cheap foreign corn was imported. Butter and bacon became Denmark's chief export articles. Table 4.3 illustrates the change:

TABLE 4.2

Agricultural Prices in Denmark, 1851-1890

Year	*Wheat per tönde**	*Rye per tönde*	*Barley per tönde*
1851-1855	19.00 Kr.	14.60 Kr.	9.90 Kr.
1871-1875	20.10 "	14.30 "	12.50 "
1876-1880	17.90 "	13.20 "	11.90 "
1881-1885	14.80 "	11.30 "	10.60 "
1886-1890	12.60 "	9.90 "	9.60 "

Year	*Oats per tönde*	*Butter per tönde*	Bacon *per pound*
1851-1855	6.50 Kr.	0.50 Kr.	0.34 Kr.
1871-1875	8.20 "	0.85 "	0.50 "
1876-1880	7.90 "	0.85 "	0.53 "
1881-1885	7.50 "	0.90 "	0.55 "
1886-1890	6.90 "	0.89 "	0.47 "

*Danish *Tonde* (barrel) is about 4 bushels.

TABLE 4.3

Danish Agricultural Exports, 1866-1900

Year	*Live cattle 100 head*	*Beef mill. kilog.*	*Butter mill. kilog.*	*Live Swine 1000 head*	*Bacon mill. kilog.*
1866-1870	52.2	11.0	4.9	44.6	5.0
1871-1875	67.0	15.0	10.6	105.6	7.0
1876-1880	98.7	22.0	13.5	212.7	4.7
1881-1885	108.8	27.0	15.3	278.1	7.9
1886-1890	110.8	27.0	30.7	135.1	23.0
1891-1895	105.9	31.0	51.6	135.7	41.3
1896-1900	57.4	23.0	57.4	0.07	64.9

To this day Danish agriculture is based on the foundations laid as a result of the total change of methods in the eighties. The agricultural export in 1922 was:

Horses	16.9	million	kroner
Cattle	28.2	"	"
Bacon	331.2	"	"
Beef	29.0	"	"
Butter	338.0	"	"
Eggs	115.4	"	"

Had the Danish peasantry, with stubborn conservatism, held to the old methods, it would have meant economic ruin for themselves and for the country; that is, of course, if the state had not intervened. The peasant, however, helped himself. He adapted his methods to the new circumstances. In the numerous cooperative organizations[8] which then came into being he created a firm support for the new system. He was open to new ideas, and willing to apply them. The Danish peasantry then possessed the mobility, the capacity, and the culture that such a radical change calls for when it is to be made by voluntary effort, and this fact is certainly due to the influence of the Danish folk high schools.

One of the writers who have dealt with this question says "The promptitude and precision of this change is evidently due, in large measure, to the work of the folk high schools. The schools enabled a sufficient number of young, liberal-minded men to grasp the importance of the new course of events, and, after a short period of training, to take up responsible positions as leaders of the new cooperative organizations."[8]

During the years of the agricultural crises the question of the influence of folk high schools on young farmers was thoroughly discussed. Some people thought that these schools, by teaching the youth myths and legends, history and literature, distracted attention from practical life and its claims and tended to create a generation of ineffectual dreamers. This criticism was mostly heard in conservative circles, where there was much anxiety regarding the move of the peasants toward independence. Among those who effectively refuted this criticism were two men who without doubt belonged to the most distinguished leaders of Danish agriculture. Both of them, not only as mangers of their own large farms, but also as leaders of the training of young farmers under the auspices of the Royal Danish Agricultural Society possessed an extensive knowledge of Danish youth. One of them, Inspector Buus, drew a comparison between the standard of adult education in 1883 and that obtained twenty years earlier. He said,

> The pupils who now apply for admission to our school of farming stand, in respect of both knowledge and spiritual development, on quite another level than did past pupils. During the last seventeen years I have examined from 110 to 130 diaries written by our pupils; therefore the opinion I have formed as to the development of the pupils is much more than a mere expression. If I compare the diaries of the first five years with those of the last five, I might easily be led to suppose that many of the present pupils came from quite another social class than did the majority of those who were here during the first years.

Then he mentioned certain forms of school work that might have contributed to this result, and continued:

> I believe that this development, however, is chiefly due to the activity of the folk high schools. The positive knowledge they give the students during one or two winter courses of five months is, perhaps, not extensive or of fundamental value. Yet I know how quickly an energetic and gifted person from eighteen to twenty years of age, with a desire for learning, can make good the difference between elementary and secondary education. What is most important, however, is not the amount of knowledge the students acquire, but the fact that the young people get mentally and emotionally roused. They may forget a great deal of the instruction; but they leave the schools different people, having learned to hear, to see, to think, and to use their powers. I am a friend of the folk high schools, and I do not believe that one can occupy himself to a considerable extent with the youth of the country without becoming a friend of these schools: one is bound to become aware of the fact that they greatly help in making the youth receptive of instruction, and fit for true advancement in life.

A prominent estate owner, Mr. Tesdorf, in referring to this statement, declared that he had had pupils since 1852, and that the number of those who had attended the folk high schools was steadily increasing. This he regarded as extremely satisfactory, for it clearly proved to him that the stay at the high schools had an extremely good influence. He always advised those who were leaving his service, if they had not previously attended a folk high school, to do so for a shorter or longer period according to circumstances.

What was true of the period of the agricultural crisis has been true up to the present day. The old students of the folk high schools have led the way on the technical side of agriculture.[9] They have controlled the numerous organizations which have promoted improved farming. They have controlled not only the agricultural and cooperative societies but also the associations of small holders which sprang up in large numbers at the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the new century. They have been the men who, in the work of local government in the rural districts, have led and controlled. It is not possible, of course, to give a detailed account of all this; but all who, in the light of personal experience, have formed a judgment on the matter agree with this view.

In considering the technical progress of agriculture, it must be noted that after 1864, agricultural schools were founded for the purpose of providing the young peasants with instruction in agricultural theory. The first of these was started in 1867, another in 1871, and a third in 1879. The total number in 1920 was thirteen, to which must be added four *Husmandsskoler*, or schools for small holders. All the schools were practically speaking, established by old pupils of folk high schools, and were inspired by the same spirit as that of the folk high schools. To the present day there has been a close connection between the two groups of schools. At first many of the agricultural schools gave actual high school teaching, including history and Nordic mythology; but they gradually came to concentrate on purely technical subjects. An exception, however, is found in the schools for small holders, in which there is given general high school teaching. The reason for this exception is that the children of small holders can usually afford to spend only one winter on adult education, whereas most of the children of the *Gaardmand*, the larger farmers, are able to attend both the folk high school and the agricultural school. When attendence at both schools is possible, the folk high school is, as a rule, attended first. The common experience is that after a stay at the folk high school better results are obtained from the technical instruction of the agricultural school. If, however, a choice between the two schools is necessary, the average youth prefers the folk high school. During 1921-1922 the agricultural schools had about 2,000 men students as compared with 3,500 in the folk high schools; and of these 2,000, 800 had first attended folk high schools and several hundred intended to become students at them later. The relationship between the two groups of schools is so close that they are usually spoken of as a whole under the common name of "The Danish Youth Schools."

All sides recognize that these schools afforded valuable help to the Danish peasantry during the years of the economic crises. Professor William Ashley recently endeavored to show that the passing of the old forms of cultivation was not so abrupt as generally understood, and having expressed the opinion that it was the folk high schools that gave the Danish farmers the intelligence that caused them to change their agricultural system, he wrote: "The folk high school did, we can hardly doubt, to some extent help the movement along. But it did something larger than that . . . . It put a new spirit, a new sense of independence, a new hopefulness, into the peasant class. It stimulated activity and promoted perseverance because it awakened them to the possibilities of their position."

That which was a source of strength and help to the peasants during the years of the crisis continued to be so afterward. Although detailed proof of this cannot be given, there is to be found a good deal of evidence which is sufficiently convincing to justify the assertion. There is, for example, a Danish biographical encyclopedia. Its principal feature is the biographies of persons who have distinguished themselves in Danish life and activity. An examination of these biographies reveals the fact that 109 farmers have thus earned distinction, the book including only those who were born after 1848 and therefore lived their youth at the time of folk high school activity. A further examination reveals the fact that the great majority of these men were students of the folk high schools and the agricultural schools. Those who attended only the folk high schools number 26; the number who attended both the high schools and the agricultual schools is 47. Sixteen attended only the agricultural schools, while there are only 20 who did not attend either kind of school.

These 109 farmers represent the leading men of modern Danish agriculture. They are men who have been occupied in the practical work, in cooperation, in the life of the unions, and in the domain of politics. If, on the other hand, the rural youth is considered as a whole it is found that not more than one fourth or one fifth have attended these schools. Nevertheless, four fifths of the leaders have done so.

In *Krak's Blue Book*, the Danish *Who's Who,* which gives biographies of living men and women who are prominent in Danish social life, there are in the 1923 edition 126 biographies of men who have lived in agricultural circles. The information about the education of these men is not very full, but it is quite clear that over two thirds of them are old students of the folk high schools and agricultural schools. What is true of these men, whose names are known throughout the country, is true also of those who, in parish and country, have filled positions as leaders. Statistics and popular judgment tell the story.

The fact that the work of the folk high schools has borne fruit in practical economic life is not surprising. History can give other examples of how a spiritual awakening of the people has led to similar results. It should be mentioned, however, that the high schools have also worked directly to give their students a conception of the greatness of simple, common, constructive tasks. Ludvig Schrøder, who was principal of the famous school at Askov, has exercised a great influence in this respect over a section of the schools. In teaching history he more and more dwelt on "the poetry of active and practical human life," and sought to awaken the students' admiration for the beauty and value of good, solid practical daily work. One who heard Schrøder's presentation of history, and who himself became a leader, has spoken of how the young people listened to the teacher's graphic glorification of common daily work. He says, "We clenched our fists, and yearned to go out and set to work!" As it was with him and his fellow students, so it has been with very many others.

Folk High Schools and the Cooperative Movement in Denmark

England is the home of the cooperative movement. About twenty years after the beginning in Rochdale, cooperative ideas took root in Danish soil. In 1866 Dean Sonne formed a "Workers' Society" in the little town of Thisted, which lies on the west coast of Jutland, and this event is regarded by Danish cooperators as the beginning of the movement in their country. But "collective liability," which characterizes cooperative activity in Denmark, is to be found in the credit societies formed after the German model as early as 1850.

A clergyman interested in social questions brought the idea of cooperation to Denmark; the beginning was made in a market town, and the town workers formed the membership. But the present movement retains little of its original form and characteristiccs. The leaders of the Danish cooperative movement, subsequent to its initiation, came from the ranks of the common people; the home of cooperation shifted from the market towns to the country; and farmers and small holders became the members of the organizations. It should be noted, however, that during the last twenty years, the field of cooperative activity has been extended.[10]

Attention will first be directed to Denmark's cooperative stores, although the outstanding feature of cooperation in Denmark is the exceptionally well-developed associations of producers and exporters, the growth and extension of the cooperative stores indicate typical features of the whole movement. Table 4.4 shows the number of cooperative stores in Denmark from 1870 to 1919.

TABLE 4.4

Growth of Danish Cooperatives, 1870-1919

Year	*Copenhagen*	*Provincial Towns*	*Country*	*Total*
1870	0	3	18	21
1880	0	5	119	124
1890	0	8	395	403
1900	0	15	827	842
1910	0	52	1316	1378
1914	17	75	1470	1562
1919	2	78	1611	1691

While cooperation in other countries has been urged forward by town people (in England by the workers, in Germany by the middle class and workers, and in Sweden by the workers), in Denmark it is largely a rural movement. Until the beginning of the twentieth century it was, literally speaking, only the rural population who were members of the associations; but from that time people of the towns also joined. The center of gravity of the movement, however, remains in the country; against Copenhagen's 24,500 members and the 40,000 of the provincial towns, the total country membership in 1919 stood at 253,000. Of the rural population, which includes artisans, unskilled workers, etc., the farming element constitutes the majority. In 1910 an investigation of the social standing of the members of the cooperative stores was undertaken, both in the towns and in the country. Unfortunately, the work was not consistently carried through; but of the total membership of the societies from which particulars were obtained, 41 percent were small holders, 32 percent farmers, and 27 percent artisans, unskilled workers, etc.

The tardiness of the town workers in joining the cooperative movement is due to the fact that the Danish labor movement was greatly influenced by the German socialists, whose lack of confidence in cooperative ideas they shared. At the beginning of the new century, however, there was evidence that a new point of view was being adopted. The change was the result not so much of agitation from the side of Danish cooperation as of the influence of the new attitude toward cooperation taken by many German socialists.

Several circumstances must be considered before it can be understood why Danish cooperation became a farmers' movement, and, in this respect, differed from the movement in other countries. No doubt, conditions of a purely practical nature were partly responsible for this course of development. In 1857 the influence of liberal doctrines led to the abolition of the monopoly of handicraft trades and business in the towns, and free and equal opportunities of starting industrial enterprises were secured. But a certain restriction survived until 1919. This was to the effect that outside the market towns, within a radius of five or six miles of them, no private wholesale or retail business was to be conducted. If it were desired to start a business within these protected areas, the cooperative store, which was not subject to the restriction, was the only possible way. This restriction was a factor in the course of development.

Another factor is to be found in the political conditions that have obtained during the last half century. The country population to a great extent belonged to the Liberal party, and the town population to the Conservative. When after 1880 the differences between the parties deepened, especially as a result of the unparliamentary handling of finance by the Conservative government, the political fight was transferred to the economic domain of the combatants. Until this time the farmers had respected the freedom, in regard to political matters, of the merchants with whom they dealt; but after 1885, it appeared to them that the towns supported a government which flouted the laws of the constitution, and that such an attitude warranted a discontinuance of business relations. The membership of the cooperative stores then rose considerably, and the number of new societies increased from year to year. It is evident that cooperation must find favorable conditions of growth in a people who steadfastly fought to realize the ideal of equality; the fight for political equality and freedom created in the Danish rural population a feeling of solidarity which, in economic life, found an almost ideal expression in the work of cooperation.

This feeling of solidarity, however, did not arise solely from common political convictions. The "democratic" distribution of property in Denmark is referred to elsewhere in this chapter, and mention is also made of the absence of wide class distinction. It is impossible to say too emphatically how much this social equality has meant in the growth of the cooperative associations; the equal and uniform conditions gave rise to a natural fellowship, and common tasks were readily undertaken by all. But bearing this in mind, it is nevertheless not too much to claim that general opinion in Denmark favors the view that the most important reason for the triumph of cooperative ideas among the peasants is to be found not in the social and political spheres, but in that of the spiritual influences which emanate from the Danish folk high schools.

The writer of the history of Danish Cooperation, H. Hertel, who has no direct personal connection with the high schools, says:

> These schools awakened in young men and women a yearning for knowledge and a desire to work; the character of the pupils was strengthened, and they left the schools with a much enlarged outlook on life. To satisfy its yearning for knowledge a current of youth flowed from the folk high schools to the agriculture schools, and when it afterward passed out into life it did so with a strong feeling of fellowship, and a desire to work for common progress. Youth thus gained some of the qualifications necessary to the success of a cooperative movement.

The influence of the high schools was soon traceable in the homes of the students; and throughout the whole country it became evident that that section of the community which had not attended any folk high school or agricultural school had nevertheless benefited as a result of their establishment. A community of social beings whose eyes are open to all the currents of life is, of course, more readily attracted by beneficial reforms than one which is listless or sullen. The folk high school students have taken an active part in both local and national life and have provided the cooperative movement with the material for leadership. From them have come most of the men possessing the will and the capacity to assume the direction of the movement, and to lead it in a manner which the country folk could understand and approve.

The debt which the cooperative movement thus owes to these schools it has tried to repay by improving the economic conditions of the agricultual population, and by giving greater prosperity and stability to their industry; and these conditions have made it possible for an increasing number of young men and women of the agricultural population to attend the schools. The fact that cooperation has not hitherto made much progress in the towns is probably due in part to the town dwellers' indifference toward or lack of understanding of the folk high schools. Their attitude has made it impossible for the high schools to influence the towns and make them ripe for the reception of cooperative ideas.

To this evidence, other evidence may be added from an account of the Danish cooperative movement published in French and written by Director Anders Nielsen, a leading figure in it. In this sketch Director Nielsen says of the folk high school:

> It has filled in and leveled the clefts in society, and thereby paved the way for working together. It has sent students out into life with an added love for the country and its achievements, riper and more thoughtful, more receptive to life's teachings, and therefore well equipped to understand and make their way where the less developed run aground. This significance of the folk high schools has now been emphasized and affirmed so often, and from so many sides, that it can well be stated as a fact that not only the cooperative movement, but the cultural position of the Danish farmers on the whole, rests on this foundation; and when we thus consider the social importance of the cooperative movements, and its economic contribution which has led to the present position of development, we must acknowledge with gratitude the great religious and school leaders Grundtvig and Kold, and their many co-workers and followers who have called forth a higher culture and feeling of solidarity among the common people, and who taught the people to think and use their powers so as to develop their lives in such a way that the united efforts of all ensure that not only the individual but the whole community is benefited.

The close connection between the folk high schools and the cooperative movement may lead persons outside Denmark to think that the folk high schools have undertaken direct propaganda for cooperative ideas. This has in no way been the case. In the early days there was no form of instruction concerning cooperation. Later, sociology found a place in the list of subjects taught in the schools, but the teaching in sociology for many years concentrated on the Danish constitution and municipal adminstration. Only in recent years has the teaching of this subject embraced social questions and therefore cooperation; and these questions are always treated objectively, without any desire to propagate any particular views.

The aim of the folk high schools is, through the medium of history and poetry, to bring about that social and human awakening which stimulates the growth of spiritual powers. That such growth has great social and economic consequences is the lesson taught not only by the experience of the folk high schools, but by many other spiritual awakenings as well. The French Huguenots belonged to the cleverest and most industrious citizens of France, and when after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots spread all over Europe, economic prosperity followed in their trail. In Norway men who were permeated by the Christian revival originating from Hans Nielsen Hauge in the first half of the nineteenth century "were among the best citizens the country had known. . . . They were pioneers of agriculture, small industries, trade and education in town and village." England has among other examples that of the Quakers.

Before mentioning other branches of the cooperative movement it must be noted that the cooperation of consumers was not confined to local stores. After various attempts there was formed in 1896 the "Fallesforening for Danmarks Brugsforeninger," a cooperative wholesale society through which the Danish cooperative stores became more and more their own merchants, importers, and manufacturers. The development of independent factories has been a cautious one, but when "big business," using its monopoly power, has tried to override the interests of consumers, the movement has made a fight. The most arresting chapters in the history of the cooperative wholesale association are concerned with these conflicts with "big business." While Denmark is the most cooperative country in Europe, this condition is not due solely to the development of cooperative stores. It is also due to the application of cooperative ideas and principles in other spheres.

First came cooperation in the dairying industry. It began in 1882, and the beginning was made by a few ordinary farmers in the little country village of Hjedding in West Jutland. A young dairyman and two farmers formulated the rules which were to become the pattern for numerous coooperative dairies. These rules embodied: common risks for the members combined with joint responsibility; the division of trading surpluses of profits according to the amount of milk delivered to the dairy (not according to the amount of capital invested); equal voting rights for all, irrespective of the amount of capital held; and free admission to membership. These ideas spread over the country with the rapidity of a heath fire. Danish agriculture was in the midst of the great crisis referred to earlier; and the dairying industry offered to Danish agriculture possibilities which the older methods of using the soil did not admit. In the time of crisis it was cooperative ideas which helped the peasants to a state of freedom from dependence upon outside capital, and enabled them, without support from the state, to carry through what was little less than a revolution in Danish agriculture.

The fact that the peasants themselves established the dairies—as well as other cooperative productive agencies—had an important social significance, for the small farmers in this way obtained the advantages of large-scale farming—division of labor, economic use of machinery, large purchases of raw materials, and collective selling of standardized products. Some figures relating to the transitional period will illustrate the point. About 1870 twice as much was paid for the butter from the manor farms as for that from little farms, and it was considered that only the first-mentioned butter was good enough for export. The manor farms always captured the prizes given for butter at exhibitions. In 1888 a national meeting of farmers was held; of 16 silver medals awarded, the manors secured 15, and of 18 bronze medals they secured 14. The cooperative dairies obtained only one silver and four bronze medals, but even these meager results attracted attention to them. At a similar exhibition held in 1894 the cooperative dairies gained 6 silver medals out of the 7 awarded, and 14 bronze medals out of 16. At the 1900 exhibition they made a clean sweep of all the silver prizes, and secured 202 out of the possible 206 bronze medals.

The characteristic feature of the Danish cooperative dairies is, however, not only their first-class produce, but also the fact that they hold such an important place in Danish agriculture. Much the greater part of Danish agriculture is linked directly or indirectly with the dairies. In 1923, 89.5 percent of the farmers were members of a dairy, and the milk of 86.2 percent of all the cows in the country was handled by the cooperative dairies.

The conditions which have favored the growth of cooperative dairies are essentially the same as those mentioned with respect to the cooperative stores; and it will be sufficient here to add a reference to a few other features. The Liberal minister of finance, Vilhelm Lassen, in a speech delivered in Copenhagen, emphasized the close relationship between the democratic movement and the cooperative organizations. He said:

> In business, selfishness as a rule has full play. Each provision dealer believes his bacon to be the best, and he does not like the idea of having its quality confused with that of his neighbors' product; but what was demanded by the members of the cooperative dairies was that he who had good, healthy cows, and tended and fed them well, should with confidence be able to pour his milk into a common receptacle with that of his neighbors,and when the profits came to be divided, share good and bad luck with them. Such a mutual trust is not usual, and when it was made possible from district to district this was only because at that time among the peasants there had grown up a feeling of strong partisanship in the fight for their rights.

He further pointed out with emphasis that the feeling of fellowship which was created by the political struggle explains the consistent application of democratic principles in all the dairies, so that the man who delivered milk from only one cow had an equal voice in the management of the dairy with the big farmer who delivered milk from forty cows. "I ask you to consider" he said, "what this means. I believe that conditions are such in Copenhagen that even the greatest democrat, when he takes shares in a limited company, demands control proportionate to the amount of the money he invests. If he invests 10,000 Kr. he demands more votes than the ones who invest only 1,000 Kr."

No doubt this speech lays too much emphasis on the contribution of the political struggle to the development of the feeling of fellowship. The factors already mentioned relative to the cooperative stores have probably been more vital. Those who wish to obtain an impression of what the folk high schools have done in this sphere should examine some of the investigations which the famous physicist, Poul la Cour, teacher at Askov, made in the 1890s. He endeavored to find out how many high school students there were among the chairmen and managers of the cooperative dairies. The figures he was able to furnish were, unfortunately, not complete, but they showed a remarkable uniformity in every district. Therefore, while one must bear in mind that the figures do not indicate the precise position, they do nevertheless give one a fairly accurate idea.

The investigation was concerned not only with the folk high schools, but also with the agricultural and dairy schools, which are so closely related to them in spirit. The inquiry showed that 47 percent of the managers of the dairies had attended a folk high school, 24 percent had attended an agricultural school and 62 percent a dairy school. From these figures it will be seen that some of them had attended more than one of the schools, and only 10 percent had not attended any. It is estimated that in the 1890s only 16 percent of the Danish rural population between twenty and fifty years of age had attended a folk high school, an agricultural school, or a dairy school. This number, 90 percent of the managers, is so overwhelming that one cannot resist the assertion that it is the people from these schools who have secured the chief places in the dairies. Even if it be assumed that it is the former pupils who have been particularly willing to supply information for this investigation, it is nevertheless remarkable evidence of the significance of these adult schools during a very critical period in Danish agriculture. The schools have given to the country leaders on the technical side of the new industrial enterprise in agriculture; but these leaders have had to make a path for the new ideas, and cope with the many difficulties of one kind and another which hinder people from accepting without reserve the new methods and processes.

It is still more important to notice how many former folk high school students there are among the chairmen of the cooperative dairy associations i.e., among peasants who have been selected by their fellows to fill positions of responsibility. A rough examination of the available information for the whole country shows that of all the chairmen, 54 percent attended folk high schools, 23 percent an agricultural school, and 2 percent a dairy school. The figures from Zeeland and the surrounding islands, where the influence of the folk high school has always been least felt, are particularly illustrative because, out of 185 dairies in Zeeland in 1897, 146 provided the information asked for. Of these 146 chairmen of cooperative dairy associations, 47 percent had been to the ordinary folk high schools; and when it is remembered that only 16 percent of the rural male population had attended a folk high school, agricultural school, or dairy school, the figures seem to be impressively high. The figures show clearly and distinctly that the folk high school students have been the pioneers of the cooperative movement in the country districts, and that the folk high schools have supplied the movement with its local leaders.

In one sphere after another of Danish agriculture cooperative ideas have victoriously won their way. A Danish farm is now connected with a network of cooperative organizations. The numerous threads by which a modern agricultural undertaking is linked economically with the world around are almost all spun by a cooperative organization. Let us follow some of them. A farmer buys his goods at a cooperative store; he borrows money from a cooperative credit association; he obtains his seed from a cooperative seed supply, his fertilizers from the Danish cooperative fodder association, his cement from the cooperative cement works, his electricity from an electrical company established on a cooperative basis; and when he wants to sell his produce, he sends his milk to the cooperative dairy, his pigs to the cooperative slaughterhouse, his eggs to the Danish Cooperative Egg Export, and his cattle to the Cooperative Agency for Cattle Export. He places his savings in the cooperative savings bank, and from the different cooperative breeding associations he is able to get information about the best breeding stocks; he gains his knowledge regarding the amount of milk each cow should yield from the control unions, and he has at his service the best and most up-to-date theories of agriculture, brought to him through the consultants appointed by the agricultural unions. By joining such a comprehensive system of cooperation he brings to his farm all the advantages of large-scale farming. The growth of agricultural cooperation in Denmark has been conditioned by the large number of comparatively small holdings; on the other hand, the cooperative movement has equipped the small holdings for the competitive struggle at a time when large holdings were gaining great advantage through the application of up-to-date machinery. Thanks to cooperation the adherents of large-scale farming in Denmark are easy to count. Cooperation has succeeded in giving produce from many small farms a uniformity and stability of quality which made it well fitted to maintain a place in the open world market and this has been a decisive factor in Denmark's position in the world economy.

It was Gladstone who called the cooperative movement "the greatest social wonder of the present time." The fact that in Denmark it was accomplished by ordinary men of the people makes the wonder yet more pronounced. A man of university education introduced the idea into Denmark, but, apart from that, university men have played no part in the movement. Farmers and small holders, elementary school teachers and artisans have been the leaders in both the local societies and the large national associations, and it is to them that the credit for this enormous "social wonder" is due.

One of Denmark's greatest historians once said that Denmark, as a little people, frequently had to learn from the great peoples and obtain new and useful ideas from them, but the country had a capacity for clothing foreign ideas in native attire and appropriating them, not as slavish imitators, but as independent men. This is true of cooperative ideas. Denmark imported them from England, and even now the principles of the Rochdale pioneers provide the foundation for Danish cooperative associations; but in the application of these ideas, in the adaptation of them to ever new spheres of activity, Denmark cannot but see its own contribution to the history of cooperation.

Folk High School Influences in Rural Denmark

The influence of the folk high schools can easily be traced in present-day rural life. In this section some instances of this will be dealt with.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was quite unknown in Denmark for people to attend meetings for the purpose of receiving instruction in subjects of a cultural character. At the university such gatherings were commonplace, but at that time it was unthinkable that ordinary people could take an interest in such subjects. A popular movement for meetings of this kind was begun in 1838, when Grundtvig, at a college in Copenhagen, delivered a series of lectures on modern history to a public audience. The following year the poet-clergyman Steen Steensen Blicher invited the general public to a meeting held at Jutland's highest point, Himmelbjerget. He spoke on national problems, but otherwise the meeting was arranged after the manner of the Greek festive gatherings. The example from Copenhagen was followed at a few places in the country, but it was not until after 1864 that such public meetings began to take a definite form. Then there was found in the people, in the mature as well as the young, a desire for enlightenment; and the newly founded folk high schools endeavored to meet the need of those who could not become high school pupils by holding public meetings at which teachers of the schools spoke. The subjects were very varied. At the first meeting at Askov Folk High School the principal spoke about an old Norse myth, a teacher lectured on German influence in Denmark, and another teacher concluded with a speech about spavin in horses. All over the country these meetings gained an exceptionally large response. People came from long distances to the meetings, which soon became a permanent part of folk high school work. But the long journeys were often troublesome; and as the demand for education increased, lecture unions were formed in various districts. These unions localized the meetings and undertook to provide lecturers, many of whom were obtained from the folk high schools. Most districts now have these associations.

These meetings were held at first in the buildings of the state elementary schools, but when it was seen that a democratic movement followed in the wake of such meeting the Conservative ministry forbade the use of state buildings for this purpose. To ensure the continuance of this work of enlightenment special meeting houses were built which could also be used as practice centers for the increasing number of gymnastic and shooting societies.

The value of the work done in this way varies considerably. In some places the instruction given through lectures may well be compared with that of the English "university extension movement," and it aims, in the best instances, not only at imparting knowledge but also at developing character and opening the mind to the spiritual values of life. With such a meetinghouse as a center of interest and endeavor, people very often live a rich and full life, a life representing much of that which is best in Danish character. On the other hand, there are numerous places where the intellectual and spiritual value of the lectures is rather doubtful, and as the lectures play a minor part, as compared with entertainments and mere social occasions, these meetinghouses cannot be included among the edifying forces of the districts. There are many contrasts afforded by the meetinghouses, the original purpose of which was that of district outposts for the work of the folk high schools.

The outward appearance of the meetinghouses is by no means pretentious. They often bear marks of the fact that they were built in a time of poverty; and it is only during recent years that a definite effort has been made to beautify them.

An extension and, in some places, a deepening of the work of the lecture unions began in the twentieth century through the Danish youth associations. These associations are composed of young people from fourteen to twenty-five years of age; they are self-governing; the leaders are young men and women who are elected by their fellow members; and the work of the "young in the midst of the young" consists in the holding of lectures, and of gatherings for song, games, recitations, amateur dramatics, and so forth. Sometimes clergymen, teachers, and older peasants support the work, and very often a number of the meetings are held in the homes of the farmers who, as a rule, are in sympathy with the movement. The associations closely adhere to the view of life taken by the folk high schools, and seek to follow the Christian community spirit that was inspired by Gruntvig. The leaders are to a large extent old folk high school students, and the younger members, on the other hand, later find their way to the folk high schools. The associations, which have a total membership of about fifty thousand, have formed a national union, which has as one of its duties the publication of a magazine. Practically speaking, the movement has no following in the towns; and the membership figure therefore indicates that a comparatively large section of the country youth is recruited.

An even larger section of the country youth has been reached by the work of the gymnastic societies. These societies and the folk high school have a peculiar relationship. In the earliest folk high schools there was instruction in gymnastics, but it frequently concerned itself with the use of arms, the object being the development of military competence. This was particularly the case after the events of 1864, when thoughts of revenge against Germany were very much alive. But as these thoughts lost their hold, the military drill, which was a more or less direct copy of the German system, could no longer retain the interest of the young; and about 1880 there was evidence on all sides of a decrease in the desire for gymnastics on the part of young people. Then some young Danish folk high school workers acquainted themselves with the Swedish gymnastic system which was developed by Pehr Henrik Ling, the educationist. This system differed from that formerly used not only in the character of the exercises, but, which was more important, in the spirit that permeated it. Vallekilde High School in Zeeland introduced the Swedish system into Denmark, and Ernest Trier, the principal, in a speecch given at the inauguration of the new gymnastics hall, expressed very clearly the new view that should be taken of gymnastics. He said:

> These gymnastic exercises are not at all designed as a form of training for a military or any other special purpose; nor are they intended merely to develop strength and agility in the human body; they aim at the improvement of the whole person. They will become a link in human education and training. The great question is, what serves to promote human life? These exercises are intended to help the development of that in a human being which distinguishes him from the animals. This is not, by any means, a mere physical development; however many feats of strength, tests of endurance, and forms of acrobatics time and perseverance may enable a man to master, he will never be able to equal the bull in strength or the monkey in agility. But he can raise himself high above the animals if he learns to subordinate his body to his will.

The folk high schools were not only the first to employ Swedish gymnastics;[11] they led the fight during the next twenty years against the old military drill which, in the end, suffered defeat. The schools also trained teachers of gymnastics for the local youth unions. Almost all of these teachers, while receiving this special training, were students at the high schools. It was therefore the folk high school spirit that set its seal on the gymnastic work of the local unions; and some of the most noble and beautiful examples of modern Danish youth have grown up within the sphere of this spiritually animated gymnastic work.

If it is desired to bring into relief the typical features of Denmark's development following 1864, and to reach an understanding of them, the influence of the folk high schools will nearly always—as far as the rural population is concerned—stand out very clearly as one of the causes of the most characteristic features of modern Danish life. Of course, other causes have run parallel, and it is impossible to ascertain the extent of the influence each of the causes has separately exercised. Yet it is a fact that all the observers of Denmark's development are in remarkable agreement that the folk high schools have been one of the most important—some say the most important—factors in the rise of the peasantry after 1864.

The folk high school, however, is not content to be judged by its influence in social organization, in practical everyday work, and in the political and national development. It will gladly receive acknowledgment of this, but will ask, further, if its old students have not been helped to live a richer and fuller, a nobler and truer life. Only a deep intimacy with individual peasants, as well as the peasantry as a whole, can yield an answer to this question; and even then it is possible to speak only in general terms. Here, however, is a piece of evidence which comes from the eminent Danish expert in folklore, Dr. H. F. Feilberg, who, through many years' work as a clergyman among the peasants of Jutland, obtained a unique knowledge of them. In his highly valued work *Danish Peasant Life*,[12] he writes:

> If I am asked whether the folk high school has left its mark on the life of the people, I answer *Yes*, though, of course, when you have lived in the midst of a great spiritual movement, it is difficult to trace the separate and various threads of influence which have been intertwined with one another. Whether every student benefits from attending the school is, indeed, very doubtful. Some attend who have no purpose at all in doing so, and who leave as wise as when they enter. In this respect, the folk high school is the same as the university; it is clear that a number of the students derive practically nothing from the teaching of the university. Others go to the folk high school in order to get a few months' freedom, and when it is remembered that many of these have never known freedom, for they began to work at the age of seven, and continued in one hard job after another, the fact is excusable. Then there are others who become presumptuous and arrogant after their stay at the high school: the little excursion into a realm of knowledge makes them intolerable. Among these one could find young, happy students who, to use an expression from Jutland, believe that "all the world hangs in a calfskin," and that they have managed to get hold of the tail. They, however, become exceedingly able people when the youthfull presumptuousness has worn off. It has been said of Christen Kold's students that they, as a rule, could not be approached until a few years after leaving his school; but after this period, during which the fermentation of great thoughts went on in their minds, the value of their stay at the school began to reveal itself in an energetic and efficient life. Speaking in broad and general terms of the impression made by the folk high school on the people as I have seen them in West Jutland, I must say that it has left its trace very clearly in the education of the people, and has exercised a cultivating and civilizing influence. The peasants' desire to read has grown, and many well-used libraries have been founded; lecture societies have been instituted and meetinghouses built. Throughout, the level of intelligence of the people has been raised. Many old people will tell how, in former days, when peasants met at gatherings and parties, the conversation almost invariably first turned of trade, and later drifted to ghosts, omens, and such things while now, every possible topical event that can be understood by the peasant enters into the field of discussion. In this direction the folk high school has contributed toward making life more becoming and beaufiful. An elderly, intelligent farmer on the heath once declared to me that the young put the old to shame. There had recently taken place a festive gathering of young people at which there was no drunkeness or quarreling, nor was there rough play and swearing; everything went well, everyone behaving decently and decorously. "What happens when we older peo-

ple come together?" he continued. "We get drunk, and then old grievances revive; we curse like wild heathens, and often end with blows and broken heads!" I venture to believe, also, that wedded life has improved, and that the wives, as the equals of men, have gained greater influence over the welfare of the homes than they had formerly. Finally, it is my opinion that the folk high school has done much to ennoble the "daily round and common task!" As a rule, it is easy to discern the homes where the husband or wife, or both, have been at a folk high school; and been there, let me add, because they felt the need of what the school had to offer. In their minds is the earnest desire to do their work as honorably and efficiently as possible, and to make full use of, and improve, the results of development and modern achievements.

NOTES

1. Since 1864 an area larger than that covered by the island Zealand has been put under the plough. From this it may be inferred that Denmark now uses for agriculture soil which is inferior to that ordinarily cultivated in England and other countries.

2. Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation, Final Report (1924), S. 267.

3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922.

4. The house of Glücksborg had, in 1863, succeeded the house of Oldenburg on the Danish throne.

5. In 1903 about 35 percent of the numbers of Parliament were old folk high school pupils.

6. The highest number, 66, was reached in 1866.

7. Among the leaders of the late Social-Democratic ministry were three former folk high school pupils; and two of the four Social-Democratic mayors of Copenhagen are from the schools.

8. Westergaard, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

9. This leadership has to a great extent passed from the large estates to the small- and medium-sized farms.

10. In 1944 there were 1,944 consumer cooperative societies with a total membership of 435,400 and a turnover of 421,500,000 kr. The Danish Cooperative Wholesale Society sold goods to a total value of 213,100,000 kr. There were 61 cooperative bacon factories with a membership of 199,000 and 1,382 cooperative dairies. Of the approximately 210,000 Danish farms nearly 190,000 were members of a cooperative dairy.

11. Physical exercises now play a great part in the daily curriculum of the folk high schools.

The Quest for National Identity and Community in Norway

E. F. Fain

Norway is the interesting specimen of a country generally acknowledged to be "good," but nonetheless a country in which the nineteenth-century concept of cultural nationalism was dominant. In this chapter I discuss the ideological tenets of Norwegian cultural nationalism and show how the ideology affected Norwegian education, and especially the creation of folk high schools. The focus is also on an influential 1896 law which virtually abolished the classical curriculum from the Norwegian grammar schools and gymnasia and replaced it with a program deemed more properly national. Cultural nationalism was not, to be sure, the only element involved in these reforms (the liberals, as we shall see, supported the recognition of science, mathematics, and modern languages as respectable school subjects while the business classes sought practical commercial training for their children), but it was a very important one. Nineteenth-century Norwegian educational history thus offers a suitable setting, in contrast to Germany under Hitler, in which to examine the phenomenon of cultural nationalism purged of any National Socialist overtones. Ideas which seem so sinister when presented against the backdrop of the evolution of the Third Reich can appear quite charming and innocent when enclosed by the little kingdom of Norway.

Certainly the Norwegian school reformers with whom I shall be concerned—those who agitated in the last half of the nineteenth century for new kinds of educational institutions and curricula—seem innocent enough. Yet many of them were zealous cultural nationalists who wanted to "Norwegianize" the schools. Fed up with centuries of Danish hegemony in political, economic, cultural, and linguistic matters, they sought to turn the schools of Norway into vehicles for an emerging national character. It was insupportable to them that their schools offered little or no instruction in Norwegian language and literature, that Norwegian children could not study their "genuine" cultural heritage. They felt that the schools of Norway were repressing the Norwegian soul. They wanted to expose the young to their national roots, those roots which lay in Norwegian history, Norwegian folklore, and above all in Old Norwegian and the Norwegian rural dialects. Their suggestions for educational reform, embedded as they were in issues of nationalism, eventually occupied the entire literate public. Novelists wrote books about folk high schools; politicians debated proposed educational changes; the newspapers were filled with the thunder of debates about curricula, the language controversies, and the ever-fascinating question of what it meant to be truely Norwegian. Pedagogical societies sprang up, students got involved, and conservative teachers—especially teachers of classics—at the grammar schools and the university resisted what they viewed as the new nationalist barbarians as best they could. One cannot read about the period without sensing the enormous excitement that touched everything to do with educational reform. I find it difficult to read about the period without experiencing a tremendous sympathy for the Norwegian cultural nationalists, struggling so energetically to release themselves from their traditional country bumpkin role. Isaiah Berlin suggested in an essay on Herder[1] that the nineteenth-century preoccupation with linguistic and national heritage was an important foreshadowing of the twentieth-century preoccupation with alienation and identity. The Norwegian cultural nationalists were involved, if one wishes to put it in contemporary terminology, in a quest for national identity, for national community. And in this quest public elementary or *folk* schools for children and folk high schools for youth were to play a major role. We will now examine the contributions of several Norwegian folk educators to this now largely realized dream of a national community.

Where the folk educator Hartvig Nissen carried some of Grundtvig's pedagogical ideas into establishment territory, Ole Vig (1824-1857) spread the gospel to the hinterland. The two journals he edited during the early 1850s, *Folkevennen* [The People's Friend] and *Den norske Folkeskole* [The Norwegian Folk School], were enormously popular with rural schoolteachers and clergymen. Grundtvig's work was not totally unknown before Vig entered the scene; isolated teachers had run across Grundtvig's books and had been converted to the folk high school cause (this is in fact what happened to Vig himself). Also, there was some discussion of Grundtvigian ideas in teacher training classes, the so-called *stift-seminars.* These seminars, established on a diocesan basis in 1821 by the Ministry of Church and Education, provided a more formal pedagogical training for elementary school teachers than the usual private tutorials with the local minister. By the end of the 1840s, enough seminar graduates had been produced to form a substantial pedagogical interest group, and they began to organize a national teacher's society. Vig, after his own graduation from a *siftseminar,* did some teachers' organizational work in Kristiansund before coming to Oslo in 1851. *Den norske Folkeskole,* which he established for elementary school teachers, was an instant succcess—four hundred subscribers in the first year.[2]

The title of Vig's pedagogical journal, *The Norwegian Folk School,* was a statement of the Grundtvigian ideal which inspired his educational program. Vig hoped that the common school of the day, the elementary school attended by lower-class children (upper-class children were tutored and then entered the grammar school), might be transformed into a folk school, i.e., a common elementary school for Norwegian children of all social classes. Obviously a Latin school could not perform such a function. A folk school must stem from what Vig conceived to be the common culture, the natural mode of Norwegian life. Vig employed the standard Grundtvigian rhetoric to make his points; his pedagogical views were the outgrowth of his national romanticist view of a resurrected Norwegian people. Mother tongue and fatherland, history and poetry—these were the key elements for Vig, as for Grundtvig.

A folk school must, of necessity, use the natural language of the people, Vig maintained. This was absolutely fundamental. In Norway, however, the existence of a host of rural dialects, a Danish overlay in urban speech, and a Danish written language meant that the designation of a particular dialect or speech pattern as the "genuine" folk language was by no means a clear-cut affair. The language controversy, the question of what the official national language was to be, became a part of all other controversies in education, politics, and culture. It was a pivotal matter in nineteenth-century Norwegian cultural life, and to some extent it still is in the twentieth century. Both the linguistic and ideological ins and outs of the language feud are complicated. Einar Haugen, whose *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian*[3] provides English readers with a detailed history of the matter, notes that Englishmen and Americans find the whole business of the Norwegian language controversy difficult to comprehend.

> In our ever-shrinking world, the notion that a national language is something worth working at and struggling for may seem merely a piece of inscrutable mysticism. It is hoped that through the following account the reader may gain some understanding of the feelings of self-respect and personal integrity that motivate such a movement.[4]

Viewed in the context of national romanticism and Grundtvigianism, however, the significance of language form becomes clearer. For men like Wergeland and Vig, language was a symbol of what kind of nation Norway would become. National regeneration was thought to be impossible without a distinctive national language.[5]

Haugen ponits out toward the end of his book that the language affair reflected Norwegian class cleavage as well as the new nationalist sentiments, though he does not accept the historian Halvdan Koht's contention that it was based solely on a struggle between the rural folk and the urban bourgeoisie.

> The patrician class of Norway in their time was an upper bourgeoisie, with a kernel of university-educated men who occupied the important posts in church, education, and government.

> These officials, or *embedsmenn,* together with a sprinkling of wealthy merchants, were closely knit by common interest, training, and intermarriage. They could and did feel themselves as an elite . . . . This group, whom we may refer to as the "official elite," did not at one blow lose their status, for example by the coming to power of the Venstre party in 1864. But the growth of democracy and the progress of the folk language movement did bring into existence a counterelite of new men. . . . Many members of the folk elite got their inspiration and training in the folk high schools, or people's colleges, whose ideology stemmed back to the national-cultural teachings of the Danish writer and bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig. The folk elite was recruited above all from rural school teachers and the so-called *bondestudentar* (peasant students), whose experiences in Oslo during their student days often nourished their antagonism to the official elite.[6]

Vig was a pioneer in the shaping of what Haugen calls the "counterelite," or what in more contemporary terms could be called a folk movement, or "counterculture." Twelve years before the establishment of the first Norwegian folk high school, Vig was preparing the ground by popularizing Grundtvig's ideas. It was one of Vig's students, in fact, who eventually opened Sagatun, the first Grundtvigian school in Norway (1864). As Hans-Jorgen Dokka has commented in his massive study *Fra Allmueskole til Folkeskole* [From Common School to Folk School], Vig's journal was no ordinary professional group newssheet. It had a mission, that mission being the propagation of "pedagogical national romanticism."[7] Vig's success in carrying out that mission is generally accepted,[8] but there are different views as to why the teachers were so amazingly receptive to pedagogical Grundtvigianism. One explanation, offered by the folk high school teacher Olaus Arveson in 1913,[9] is that enthusiasm for Grundtvig was tied to the fear of Thrane's socialist movement. The tremendous support given Thrane in rural communities was for many teachers an appalling testimonial to the low level of popular enlightenment, a proof that the common school did not educate people to participate properly in political activity. Grundtvig seemed to have a successful, alluring method of safe popular enlightenment—an enlightenment which embraced Christianity and nationalism rather than atheism and class warfare. The historian Halvdan Koht had a different interpretation.[10] He regarded pedagogical Grundtvigianism as part of a burgeoning democratic movement which sought the same political goals as the socialist Thrane. In his famous 1910 essay, "Bonde mot borgar in nynorsk historie,"[11] Koht maintained that both the lower classes in the city and the farmers were part of the same underclass, while officials and urban businessmen comprised the ruling class. According to Koht, Norwegian democracy was born in the struggle between the rural folk (which included the city working class) and the urban bourgeoisie (which included the city-oriented officials who lived in the country). Thrane's movement represented for Koht the first political expression in Norway of solid "underclass" sympathy. The demand for peasant power in the schools was thus only part of a general democratic demand for "underclass" power in local and national politics.

In fact, the two different views of Grundtvigianism are not really contradictory, for the movement was radical in some respects and conservative in others. It doesn't really fit very neatly into standard "right-left" terminology.[12] Certainly Grundtvigianism was Christian and national and crammed with talk of ancient Nordic glories, but it was simultaneously anti-establishment and populist. In any case, there is no doubt that Grundtvigian notions of education and nationalism caught on in Norway in the 1850s, with rural teachers in the first wave.

Vig's stand on the language matter was moderate. He hoped that the spoken rural dialects and the written Danish would gradually grow together. To this end, he pushed for the steady incorporation of Norwegian spoken words into the Danish, and he published lists of words which he regarded as suitable candidates for such amalgamation. Norwegian children, Vig averred, must be taught to read a language in school which was clear, lively, and truly Norwegian.

Vig emphasized the need for a social education, for an education which would prepare children for everyday life in Norway. Here again, Vig saw history and the mother tongue as the two essential subjects. The common school did little more than get children ready for church confirmation; the folk school would provide in addition the skills and knowledge required of enlightened, self-governing citizens. Each Norwegian child, Vig said, was a member of both the Christian church and the civil society. If church and state were to separate, which he regarded as desirable, then there would have to be two kinds of schools—religious and civil. So long as church and state were joined, however, the school must undertake both educational functions. It was not sinful, as the Pietists maintained, to teach children about the world. Christian salvation was important, but it didn't follow from this that one should think only of heaven. All things which happened on earth were God's handiwork. How could history be a sinful subject when Christianity itself was a historic phenomenon? And how could nature study be sinful when Solomon had written of trees and flowers? It was a lack of enlightenment which caused people to believe that all joy was sinful, that man must live in a vale of tears.[13]

Once one accepted that the study of history was not sinful, Vig continued, then the question of its utility arose. Vig answered this question by first attacking the common conception of man as being either a mere animal or a creature concerned only with the next world. Between these extremes lay a natural man, a man whose head and heart required nourishment through history and poetry. This higher natural man was in need of beauty and friendship, knowledge and art, and love for his people and country. Such a man required a broad, meaningful education.[14]

Den norske Folkeskole kept up a steady barrage against formalism in education. In his opening ariticle, Vig took issue with the theory that the study of a single subject, such as Latin or mathematics, could develop the mind in some desired universal fashion. Grammar was helpful for language problems and mathematics was useful in counting and calculating, but neither provided one with an ability to think or judge.[15] In this matter, Vig saw eye to eye with Hartvig Nissen and other liberal proponents of a broadened school curriculum. Like most true Grundtvigians, however, Vig was more concerned with spiritual development than with practical training for a career. Children simply could not unfold properly in a dry, repressive atmosphere. The teacher had to reach the student's soul, had to unleash the human spirit, and this could be done only via the freedom of the living word. Teach whatever you like, said Vig, so long as it is something which delights and uplifts the soul of the child.[16]

Despite the emphasis on oral teaching and the living word, *Den norske Folkeskole* campaigned for better texts in the common school. In particular, Vig wanted an "encyclopedic" reader as a replacement for the religious books in current use. Such a reader would at once broaden the curriculum of the common school. He envisioned it as a large work, filled with stories, fables, myths, proverbs, history, geography, and nature study selections. The constitution, legislation and social conditions of Norway were also necessary topics, he said, along with discussions of Norwegian customs and landmarks. There should be literary selections in Norwegian and Swedish folk dialects, in Old Norwegian and Old Danish. Finally, there must be room in the reader for a Norwegian grammar. A textbook which was genuinely Norwegian both in content and language would be an exceedingly meaningful first step toward a suitable education for all Norwegian citizens. Such a reader, in short, would begin the transition from common school to folk school.

Vig was hopeful that a revitalized elementary school which offered a broad education would indeed appeal to all classes—to the sons and daughters of officials and rich farmers as well as to the children of peasants. It was essential, he said, that schooling be a free choice, that no one ever be forced to attend school. A natural folk life could never evolve except under conditions of cultural freedom. The school must be an invitation rather than a duty; the state must never have the right to force attendance. Vig particularly disliked the compulsory confirmation laws of Norway. The notion of dragging people off to jail to force them to be confirmed (this was done to gypsies, among others) struck him as utterly grotesque and disgusting. Children, said Vig, should never be the wards of the state. They belong to their parents, to their families.[17] In an ideal society, in fact, children would get their early education solely from their parents, and elementary schools could be entirely abolished. One must be realistic, however, Vig cautioned; given the unawakened Norwegian society of the day and the unenlightened Norwegian parents, the free folk school was as yet a necessity. Make the schools as free and vital as they ought to be, said Vig, and the legal regulations on education would soon prove to be superfluous. Vig appealed again and again to the teachers to recognize the great importance of their work. The teacher's profession was a mission—a mission which, for Vig, had as its chief goal the creation of cultural national unity. It is interesting that Vig, like Grundtvig, wanted to unite the school with the nation but not with the state (or at least, not with the existent state). The folk high schools were much closer to what Vig sought than the state system eventually created by Nissen. Vig intended to start his own folk high school but died before he could do so. His student Olaus Arveson opened the first one at Sagatun in 1864; Christopher Bruun established another in 1867. In the 1870s it was Bruun who became the ideological champion of Grundtvigian pedagogy and nationalism. The rural school teachers had already been won for the cause; Bruun addressed himself to the university students.

Brad, Bruun, and Bjørnson

A man who is truly anti-Establishment is eternally modern. Hypocrisy, cant, the betrayal of ideals, greed, self-seeking—these things are always with us. One who insists that the potentate of the day is really naked may be reviled in his own time but honored in another. The drama of the idealist versus the establishment is a timeless one. Consider the plays of Ibsen in this respect. Ibsen specialized in the portrayal of the slightly mad fanatic who insists on sticking to his principles, no matter what. Neither common sense nor self-interest can divert him from his pursuit of the Ideal. Catastrophe overtakes him (often in the form of suicide or violent death, sometimes only in social ruin), but the theater audience sees clearly the process that the everyday charade which we call society is shallow, hypocritical, and often painfully boring. Of a recent Ibsen revival off-Broadway, the critic John Simon marveled "that a play Ibsen wrote close to a century ago should strike us as so fresh and vital today, so ineffably more contemporary than what most of our dramatists and avant-gardists peddle as the *dernier cri*."[18] It is not really so surprising, however, for so many of us have learned bitterly in the last few years that our American establishment built its high-flown ideological edifice above a base of racism, imperialism, and corruption. We are on all-too-familiar grounds when we watch Ibsen's revelations of the Norwegian counterpart establishment a hundred years before. Ibsen spared neither the establishment nor its attackers, which adds powerfully to the feeling that he dealt with an eternal human condition.

Christopher Bruun (1839-1901), the folk high school pioneer whose views I shall now discuss, was the inspiration—or at least the partial inspiration—for one of Ibsen's great dramas: *Brand* (1866). Ibsen and Bruun met in Rome in September 1864. Ibsen had set out for Italy the preceding spring. It was just after the start of the Schleswig-Holstein war, and Norway and Sweden, although sympathetic to Denmark's predicament, refused to be drawn into the affair. Ibsen, who was at that time much in favor of

Scandinavianism, reacted angrily to this refusal. News of the first Danish losses reached him en route, and he was wildly upset in Berlin to see Germans spitting on captured Danish cannon being dragged through the streets. Upon reaching Rome in mid-June, Ibsen attended a midsummer's night party held by the Scandinavian community in residence there, and he delivered an embittered monologue on what he had witnessed in Berlin. Later, in a letter to his mother-in-law, he told of his contempt for the Danes in Rome, who had sat silently by in the German Lutheran church they normally attended while the pastor prayed for a Prussian Victory.[19]

Young Bruun, who was introduced to Ibsen a few months later, was a theologian but was hesitating about being ordained

> because he felt that life and the teaching of the Norwegian State Church were incompatible. Like Ibsen, he had been angered by the German attack on Denmark but, unlike Ibsen, he had volunteered as a soldier, and had fought with the Danes at the battle of Dybool. . . . They discussed the war, and Bruun asked Ibsen why, if he felt so strongly, he had not volunteered himself. "We poets have other tasks to perform," Ibsen had replied, but a doubt remained in his mind.[20]

Brand, which Ibsen completed in 1865, is about a Kierkegaardian pastor who refuses to compromise on any thing or in any way. "All or nothing" is the recurrent theme. Brand must follow his private vision of God, though it results in the death of his son and his wife, and finally in his own. "A man must be himself," he says. "Only thus can he carry his cause to victory."[21] Brand is pitted against the establishment—against an official of the state church, for example, who comments that "the state sees religion as the best means of improving the country's moral tone, the best insurance against unrest. Good Christian means good citizen."[22] Or the schoolteacher, who regards his professional task as keeping school discipline, instructing the young, and keeping aloof from all controversy.[23] Brand is in fact pitted against the very notion of compromise, although Ibsen seems to suggest in certain passages of the play that compromise is the essence of life itself.

Bruun, one of the models for Brand, was born in Kristiania, but his widowed mother moved to the country with her three children when he was five. Her financial situation was precarious, and she had to sell most of her possessions and live in an exceedingly frugal fashion. Bruun entered the Lillehammer grammar school at the age of eleven. According to one biographer, he already had a fierce sense of morality and was never able to experience any joy in being young.[24] In 1856, Bruun matriculated to the university. Due to a partial restoration of his mother's property, his family was able to accompany him to the capital city. For a time the study of natural science attracted Bruun, but he then decided to become a theology student. Soon he was preoccupied with the usual problems of ethics, damnation, and salvation. Most of the embryo theologians were disciples of the pietistic professor Gisle Johnson, who preached an evangelical fire-and-brimestone Lutheranism. Bruun admired Johnson's passion but thought him inept as a theologian. He preferred to work with Professor Caspari, a converted German Jew who held the other theology chair and who concentrated on Old Testament studies. Bruun credited Caspari with alerting him to the human drama contained in the Bible stories. Unlike most other theological students, who held themselves aloof from general student social life (where drinking and "worldly" considerations were the mode), Bruun was an active participant in *Studentersamfundet* [The Student Society]. He felt that a theologian must try to influence others, and this could hardly be accomplished in isolation.

While a student, Bruun read Kierkegaard's works and was astounded by the man's genius. In his journals, Bruun recorded his preoccupation with the Kierkegaardian paradoxes. Intellectually he felt himself a Kierkegaardian, but he sensed that such views were of a desperate nature and had little application in everyday life. On a walking trip into the mountains, while experiencing the keen physical sensations of such an expedition, Bruun became convinced that he required a religion more intimately connected with the process of living. Eventually he chose the Grundtvigian movement as the best solution to what he needed, but he always had intellectual reservations about Grundtvig's religious doctrines. Certainly he was never able to become one of Grundtvig's "happy Christians"; he was an austere and brooding creature, concerned constantly with morals and missions. All his life Bruun was to be plagued by his inability to fit completely into any doctrinal camp he chose for himself.

Bruun first came into contact with Grundtvigianism when he met some Danish disciples at an Oslo church conference in 1861. His initial interest was reinforced when he visited Denmark in 1862. The fantastic warmth and joy of the Grundtvigian groups impressed him profoundly, as it was to impress so many others. Coming from a dour outpost of gloomy Lutheranism, a land in danger, as Bjørnson once claimed, of becoming a permanent "winter nation," a young Norwegian could be easily overwhelmed by the astonishing openness and hospitality of the Danish Grundtvigians. Such experiences were undoubtedly similar to those which some people undergo currently when they join communes or encounter groups. Bruun considered remaining in Denmark as a student, but decided first to spend some time with his family in Rome, where they had moved for reasons of health.

He was at once enchanted by Rome, particularly by the omnipresent sense of ancient history. He later commented that the Catacombs became for him a living symbol of the either/or morality of the early Christians, a martyr's morality which suited his own stern outlook. More and more, Bruun became convinced of the necessity of fighting to the death for one's ideals; along with many other young Europeans of his time, he rooted passionately for the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks. When the war between Denmark and Prussia broke out, he decided at once to return to Scandinavia to join the Danish army. Against the strenuous objections of his mother, he left Rome and went first to Norway, where he delivered a speech before *Stundentersamfundet* on April 2, 1864,[25] in which he urged his audience to battle the Prussians (unsuccessfully, for not a single student joined him). Fear of death should be no obstacle, he said, for a man who has abandoned his ideals is already spiritually dead. Shortly thereafter, he joined the Danish army and fought in the Battle of Dybbøl.

Bruun's actual participation in the war was a great disappointment to him. He first discovered that very few Danish academics, let alone Norwegian or Swedish ones, had rushed into uniform to defend Scandinavia against the Prussians. Then he discovered that the peasant soldiers, who of course made up the bulk of the army, were totally unaware of the great spiritual cause in which their services were enlisted. Nationalism, whether Danish or Scandinavian, meant little to them. When Bruun tried to explain, they seemed incapable of grasping the idea. They only wanted to stop fighting and go home. And yet, as Bruun later commented, he was touched by the basic humanity which he felt the peasants possessed, and he began to think about how they might be awakened to the idealistic aspects of life.

Discharged from the army in August 1864, Bruun returned to Rome. Both his brother and sister died soon thereafter, and for more than two years he wandered through Germany and Austria in a griefstricken state. Everywhere, he later commented, he found a depressing state of affairs. Either there was knowledge without spirit, as among the academics and orthodox theologians, or there was spirit without knowledge, as among the Pietists. Increasingly he hated the modern world and yearned for the ancient glories.

On his way back to Norway in 1867, Bruun renewed his acquaintance with the Danish Grundtvigians. For the first time, he saw the Danish folk high schools in operation. His calling, which he had felt but couldn't articulate, now took a practical form: he would open a folk high school in Norway and teach the peasants to become morally and nationally strong. He outfitted himself in garments of homespun cloth and wore a stocking cap of the national color, and he established his school in the Gudbrandsdal valley in 1867. It was not the first to be founded in Norway, for Sagatun had gotten underway a few years earlier. Nor was Bruun's school as successful as Sagatun or some of the later ones. Bruun lacked the warm and outgoing personality which seemed to be an essential part of the folk high school milieu. It was Bruun, however, who brought the folk high school movement out of its rural isolation into the Norwegian public eye.

In the spring of 1870, less than a year after the passage of Nissen's school reform bill, Bruun delivered a series of revolutionary lectures before the Kristiania Student Society. The author Bjørnson, who was then chairman of the society, had arranged for Bruun's invitation. The lectures, published eight years later as *Folkelige Grundtanker* [Folkish Fundamentals], created a fantastic furor among university students,[26] much as Grundtvig's 1834 lectures had done in Copenhagen. Like an Old Testament prophet, Bruun denounced the entire Norwegian academic establishment—indeed, the entire Norwegian social establishment—and outlined the future society which he hoped to bring into being. It was a stunning performance. Bruun both spoke and wrote well.

His *Folkelige Grundtanker* is in many respects a clearer presentation of folk high school philosophy than Grundtvig himself was ever able to produce. The conservatives in Bruun's audience were as furious with his revolutionary agitation as the radicals were joyous. Hisses and cheers filled the air after each lecture. Bjørnson was praised and denounced for his role in having brought Bruun to *Studentersamfundet*. For some of the younger members of the society, Bruun was the most stimulating force in the university world since Henrik Wergeland urged rural Norwegians to "see to their own education" in the 1830s. For many of the older members, he was instead a voice from the Dark Ages, and they saw the end of civilization at hand.

Youth, said Bruun (in the best romantic tradition), was the period of inspiration, of passion, of enthusiasm. Most adults considered this youthful passion to be an intoxicated state, a drunkeness which must be experienced but then outgrown. Only thus could one attain a life of reason; only thus could one enter the halls of Parnassus. Bruun, on the other hand, wished to glory in that youthful passion; he felt that it must be cherished and not extinguished. Never to lose sight of one's youthful ideals was to create a life of poetry—and every man could be a poet, whether he worked in education or science, politics or the church. The poet was he who held fast to the best ideals of his youth, he who was willing to sacrifice all for those ideals.

Bruun wanted to harness youthful idealism to the spiritual transformation of his country. Norway as it existed was an intolerable place for him, a mean land which displayed poverty of imagination and spirit. As to the cause of this barren state of culture, Bruun accepted the Grundtvigian explanation—that the true, natural spirit of the people had been submerged for centruies because of foreign cultural domination. An imported thought was a lifeless entity; it could have no real meaning or force for a different people. Contemporary Norwegian culture, but a pale copy of Danish and German culture, was a travesty. "The atmosphere is cold, oppressive and depressing," Bruun commented. "And because of that, many of our best intellectuals have been tempted to leave, or have left.[27] (Bruun was probably thinking of Ibsen, who exiled himself from Norway.)

If the situation was bad in Kristiania, it was even worse in the countryside. There the peasants lay in a kind of outer darkness. A few brave souls, like Wergeland, had dared to hope that Norway could somehow recover its ancient cultural glory, and Bruun himself was encouraged on the literary scene by the emergence of the incomparable Bjørnson and Ibsen. So far, unfortunately, literature was the only field in which Bruun could detect any sign of Norwegian originality, any hint of a peculiarly Norwegian talent. In philosophy, Norway had only disciples of Hegel, Comte, or other foreigners. In politics, no true leader of the people had yet appeared. Bruun had faith, however, that a unique Norwegian spirit existed, waiting only to be properly tapped in order to surface.

The folk high school was the instrument, the medium through which the rebirth of Norway's national spirit might take place, Bruun thought. The raison d'etre of the institution was to effect a spiritual regeneration of the peasant. According to Bruun, a peasant was the obvious first subject for national rebirth because he had been the least exposed to foreign influence. The peculiar genius of the Norwegian people must therefore be preserved in him in its purest form. The folk high school, Bruun emphasized, was not designed with the idea of helping the peasant in any practical matters. "Our aim is to help the peasants participate in the higher spiritual life of the Folk, not to farm in a better and more profitable manner. We therefore place little emphasis on 'necessary arts.'"[28] But if there were any time left over from spiritual concerns, Bruun continued, then the folk high school teachers would naturally help the students all they could with reading, writing, arithmetic, and nature study.

Just how was this spirtual education to be conducted? Through poetry and history, for the most part. Poetry was to be an integral contribution to the life of the folk high school. The students were not to read poems in a book, however, for lessons in books could never awaken the true sense of passion and idealism so necessary for the national rebirth. Bruun attempted to explain to his university audience what was meant by Grundtvig's "living word," and how it was only this living word—this message of idealism—which could awaken the dormant strength of the people. Talks at the folk high school were to resemble neither the dry and sterile lectures of the university nor the frivolous after-dinner speeches and toasts which went with drinking. Folk high school teachers, unlike professors, could have no captive audiences. They had to interest their listeners by presenting talks which were relevant to everyday life, which were totally sincere, and which immediately struck home. At his own school, Bruun said, the discussions centered on domestic life and love, the meaning of a Folk and a Fatherland, language and poetry, freedom and education. "When a peasant asks me about what the youths will learn at our school, I begin my response by saying that we teach them to think about life. That is the first subject at the folk high school. The second subject is history. And there are no other major subjects."[29]

History, like poetry, was utilized by Bruun to awaken a sense of idealism, a passion to bring about change. History à la Grundtvig was a demonstration of poetry, of idealism in everyday life. Norwegian history, in particular, could fill the young with wonder at the accomplishments of their ancestors. The two subjects, history and poetry, could be marvelously combined. The Norwegian folk tales, for example, were a spectacular mirror of the old Norwegian spirit. "For me, the Norwegian folk tale 'East of the Sun and West of the Moon' is more meaningful than the Greek myths."[30] Norwegian mythology, said Bruun, was a reflection of the noblest and most spiritual aspects of old Norwegian life, and it deserved to be studied by young Norwegians as the Greek myths had been studied for centuries by others.

A people's singularity, the inborn national character, was basically the same at all times, Bruun believed. However, just as a person could sometimes be said to be other than his natural self, so a nation could at times betray its true character. A new national character could not be acquired, Bruun insisted, but the old one could somehow become exhausted or be forced underground. When a folk regained its strength, then its character could return. The basic stamp of the people could reappear in modern dress, but it would still be the same as of old. Christianity had ennobled the ancient Norwegian spirit, for example, but it had not altered the original mold.

It was because the idea of the nation was inborn, Bruun believed, that students responded so readily to folk high school teachings. They felt a natural pull, an immediate attraction. One couldn't awaken peasant idealism with Plato and Hegel; one needed Norwegian gods and heroes. Idealism had to be clothed in nationalism before it meant anything at all. The ideals and thoughts of foreigners, whether German or French or classical, did not contain the power to awaken a people; only native thoughts and ideals could do so. Nationalism was the path to spiritual freedom, spiritual growth, true idealism, true humanism.

The relationship between the ancient Norwegian culture and Christianity was a pivotal theoretical matter for Bruun, as it was for Grundtvig. Indeed, that relationship concerned the orthodox Lutherans as well. What on earth, they asked, was all this heathen nonsense which Grundtvig and the foolk high schol flock were preaching Surely Grundtvigianism must in some way be heretical, un-Lutheran—even if its chief practitioners had been trained as Lutheran theologians. The Norwegian Pietists, in particular, with their concentration on redemption in the next world, were horrified at the notion of redemption in this world. For his part, Bruun was quick to admit that he was no Lutheran. "I believe in Jesus of Nazareth . . . but I don't believe in Martin Luther."[31] Nonetheless, he felt he should present some arguments against the view that the study of heathen Viking literature was somehow sinful. He noted that Luther himself had been deeply interested in classical studies, and what were classical studies if not an account of heathen cultures? The early Christian fathers, after all, had been students at classical schools. In Greece, Rome, and the Near East, Christian and heathen ideas had long been intertwined. The humane teachings in Christianity, in fact, were not based on the old Judaic scriptures but on the culture of the Greeks. Bruun went on to point out that the orthodox Lutherans did not object to the Latin school, though the Latin literature studied there was certainly the work of heathens. On what grounds, then, could they possibly object to the study of their own culture's pagan mythology? And in any case, Bruun triumphantly offered as his final argument, God in his wisdom had created the heathens just as surely as he had created the Christians. God, according to Bruun, was responsible for the pre-Christian Vikings.

Bruun felt constantly that he had to battle on two fronts: against the narrowness of Lutheranism, both the orthodox and pietistic varieties, and against the free-thinking nonsense and pompous stupidities of the academics. His denunciation of the academics included some rather odd aspects. For one thing, he claimed that the educated class of Norway was both physically and spiritually sick. Weak bodies, slack and lazy from lack of physical labor, resulted in weak spirits. Thus the academics lacked warmth, strength, passion. No national redemption could possibly emerge from such a group. In Europe, Bruun continues, only the educated class of England had some respect for their bodies, thanks to an interest in sports. Bruun expressed great admiration for America, a land in which few could be physically idle. From America, one could expect savage spontaneity; Europe was overcivilized and decadent.

Bruun decried too the sharp separation of social classes in Europe. He deplored the great chasm between "fine gentlemen" and "simple folk," and he seemed to think that if only all upper-class youths were compelled during their adolescent years to work with their hands, then a better understanding between classes would emerge. Like many romantic nationalists, Bruun sought a method of avoiding class warfare. He dreamed of being able to bring all Norwegians into a single community. From his point of view, Norway was enormously lucky because the class-conscious socialists had not yet managed to gain a foothold. There was still time for national redemption.

The peasants, if properly educated, were the hope of the future. Bruun would teach them to love their country and their heritage. He would assist them, he said, to appreciate their own literature. He would open their ears to the sound of the mother tongue, the natural language. They would learn that it was better to marry for love than for money. They would come to cherish freedom and enlightenment. They would learn to think for themselves instead of accepting the explanations of government officials and the establishment press. Bruun's visions, of course, extend far beyond the country valleys. The enlightenment of the peasant was only the initial, the experimental step in shaping a new society. He hoped that the folk high school would eventually supplant the Latin school, that the study of history would substitute for Greek and Latin, that the poetic-historic view would capture the country.

Not surprisingly, Bruun thought that Old Norwegian should be extensively studied in schools and at the university. The histories of other peoples could be read in translation, but not the history of one's own. Italians, Spaniards, and Frenchmen had some justification for continuing to study Latin because their languages came from the Latin.

> But for the Germanic race,[32] the Latin school is like a rootless tree, without the right to continue, without the power to remain alive. Above all, the Latin school has prevented the development of spiritual life, and nowhere has it been so great an obstacle as in the nordic branch of the Germanic race, and especially in our fatherland.[33]

The Roman Church had first introduced Latin to the German tribes, and in so doing, laid the ground for Latin's hegemony. Because all the clerics and officials used Latin, the mother tongues of other groups became stunted and unfit for the higher functions of life. Such languages in truth became farmer tongues. And as Latin ground down other languages, so the Latin view of history belittled the accomplishments of other peoples. Germanic tribes, in particular were depicted as barbaric, as hordes of wild men. Now, however, the Germanic race was awakening to a feeling of its own independence, its own individuality, its deep difference from the Romance language peoples.

For Bruun, the Latin school was the chief symbol of a monstrous misconception of what Norwegian culture ought to be. Only a total cultural revolution could bring into being the society Bruun wanted. Clearly the elimination of the Latin schools was not sufficient of itself. It had to be replaced with the "poetic-historic" school. Bruun was opposed to the Real gymnasium, for example, because he thought it lacked the proper cultural spirit. It was not quite as evil as the Latin school, but it too was infected by the "formalism" which the upper classes had spread to every extant educational institution. And even if the teaching in the Real gymnasium were to be improved, one could not expect that a curriculum based on nature study could provide as ideal an education as a humanistic curriculum based on the study of mankind, on humanism in its genuine sense.

Like most pedagogical visionaries, Bruun was certain that his folk high school would capture the souls of the youth so completely that there would never again be problems of discipline, never again be situations in which the students and masters were at war. He attributed this to the fact that the folk high school would be developing the natural Norwegian. There would be no forcing, no artificial twisting of children. Just as a tree or flower given proper care, a Norwegian child would simply unfold into the natural Norwegian being he was originally meant to be.

Concrete details of his utopia were never outlined by Bruun. He seems to have been singularly devoid of any thoughts about economics or politics. Unleash the spirit, he repeatedly intoned, and the rest will come about naturally. The Norway of the future would surely resemble the Norway of the Viking chieftains in terms of strength and passion. No dead hand of another culture would crush the living spirit; the Latin school, symbol of death and formalism, would be eliminated.

Bruun found the university as reprehensible an institution as the Latin school. The students, he charged, were motivated not by love of learning but only by the desire to get through their examinations. With few exceptions, they read only what they thought they would need to pass. A spiritless lot, Bruun charged, and the liberal arts students were the worst of all. Among the young scientists, one could occasionally find someone with a real passion for learning. The law students and the philologists, however—and particularly the theologians—were without a glimmer of what the search for knowledge ought to involve. Bruun, as a former theology student at the university, knew only too well how the great burning questions of religion and morality got dissipated in a sea of German commentaries and trivial disputes.

In general, the Norwegian university was just a ridiculous copy of its German model. And a copy could never be any good—that was Bruun's fundamental point. At times, he argued in such a way that one might conclude that only a native German could understand Hegel. One thing was a certainty for Bruun; no Norwegian could ever be expected to understand Hegel! Despite Bruun's realization that the Scandinavians were the northern branch of the German nation, he was certain that the branch had a character quite different from the main trunk. The sole results of German philosophical scholarship in Norway, Bruun insisted, were three small meaningless cram books on Hegel's systems, books which the Norwegian students carefully memorized before taking their second set of examinations.[34]

The university had been built and was operated as a result of great sacrifice on the parts of all citizens, Bruun pointed out. This had been done because people believed that the benefits of higher education would be disseminated throughout the entire country. In fact, Bruun lamented, very little resulted from the whole enterprise. Most students used their training solely as a means to a better livelihood; they had no notion whatever of helping their countrymen. And even the few who dreamed of aiding the peasants ran into practical difficulties because they didn't know how to communicate with ordinary people. They took posts as officials in rural areas and in no time at all were lamenting that the peasants were unteachable, that they had no one with whom they could talk. Their style of life was completely different from that around them. This never changed. Let a man from Kristiania come to visit an official in the country, a man the official had never met before, and within two hours of conversation, the two would be closer that the official could be with peasants he had known for ten years. No law prohibited the marriage of an official's child with that of a peasant, but such a thing hardly ever occurred. And if it did, Bruun noted, it was considered a terrible tragedy, a shame, a blot on the entire family. There was a great deal of empty talk in Norway about freedom, but in fact most of the people were not free.

Bruun was throughly romantic in his contempt for ordinary political activity as the path to freedom. He wanted to change men's souls, not their votes. At least a century was required, he said, to transform the peasant into a proper Norwegian, and the too-hasty attainment of political power could only damage that process of transformation. The greatest danger, Bruun felt, was that those peasants who entered the Parliament and the administration would imitate the upper-class officials, would become just like them. They would, as our modern terminology has it, be coopted. One must begin from the roots and not at the top. The peasants would always be at a tremendous disadvantage until the language situation was drastically altered—until, for example, the barbaric Latin in which most law books were still written was changed to

Norwegian, and until the disgusting Danish spoken in the capital city gave way to the genuine native tongue.

When it came to the political crunch, Bruun much preferred a monarchy to a republic. In part this was because the Norway of old was ruled by a king and Bruun's eyes were forever fixed on the great saga period. In part Bruun genuinely believed that the peasants loved the idea of a monarchy and were personally attached to a king. And no doubt he thought that a king would be much easier to influence than an adminstration controlled by university graduates. Certainly the academically educated bureaucracy was unlikely to have much love for a man like Bruun. He was too much of a revolutionary, too eager to abolish status and privilege, and they instinctively felt that he was more dangerous than the peasants in the newly formed Venstre or Liberal party. Bruun disliked Venstre because it was anti-monarchist. He had every sympathy, he said, with a battle against the bureaucracy but not against the king. What Norway really needed, according to him, was a Center party which would uphold the officials in their support of the king but would also back the Left in its struggle with the bureaucracy of the Right.

In any case, Bruun considered other matters to be far more important than the political struggles of the day. Drunkenness, for example, was a terrible obstacle to the uplift of the peasant. In this matter the educated class, which had become more temperate in drinking habits during the preceding generation, was far more admirable than the peasant. And another peasant custom which Bruun thoroughly condemned was the sexual looseness of unmarried women. He praised the purity of upper-class girls; they did not, like the country lasses, engage in premarital intercourse, or at least they did not do so as openly and shamelessly. One must face these shortcomings honestly, said Bruun, so that one could work to eradicate them.

Bruun apparently thought that the social gap between the educated class and the peasant was greater in Norway than in most other European countries. He seems to have based this belief less on observation than on the notion that two groups which spoke two different languages (in this case, Norwegian and Danish) could never get together. Then, too, his idea that the Latin school and the university offered some kind of an education without "native" roots meant that their graduates, the students and officials, could not be cognizant of true folkish feeling.

Despite all his talk of national spirit and folkish character, Bruun insisted that his ultimate goal was not nationalism. What he wanted was a richer, fuller, more humane life for all men. He was a true humanist, he averred. The concept of a general, abstract, universal humanity was utterly empty and meaningless, however; the ideal had to be clothed in national costume in order to come alive. "Human life which has lost its national form," he stated, "has also lost its idealistic content, or is at least in danger of losing it."[35]

A humanity which lost its faith in God was equally anti-idealistic. Bruun regarded science as an enemy of true Christianity; the scientists had started, he said, with an attack on the traditional Christian doctrine of the origin of the world but had progressed to a total denial of God. The philosophers had then hastily jumped on the bandwagon, and now the historians had commenced to view Christianity as just one culture among many. True enough, individual scientists and philosophers still claimed to be believing Christians, but this was only because they kept their work and their religious beliefs locked in separate compartments. Bruun had no use for that kind of religion. All or nothing. He loathed what the Enlightenment had brought to pass: the separation of Christianity from general intellectual life. He found the current intellectual milieu un-Christian, and he found the current Christian milieu inhumane. If the old Norwegian spirit could somehow be renewed, however, then the grand old Christian strength might return. It would be a Christianity based on the Nordic spirit. The special Norwegain spirit which God had originally created would be in full bloom once more, and the Norwegians would therefore once again be following God's path.

Bruun's lectures were designed to recruit academics to the folk high school movement, and in this he succeeded. "A large group of young men with academic or pedagogical training went out to the rural towns to take part in educational and inspirational work on the basis of Christian nationalism."[36] Over thirty folk high schools were founded in the first half of the 1870s. Bruun's lectures were also designed to carry Gruntvigian ideology into the cultural mainstream, and he succeeded in this as well. His talks and book excited controversy and were widely discussed. For a short period, he even attracted into his circle of influence the eloquent writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson.

"To name the name of Bjørnson," Georg Bandes once wrote, "is like hoisting the Norwegian flag."[37] Everyone listened to Bjørnson (1832-1910). The man seemed to operate on all fronts simultaneously: literature, drama, journalism, education, and nationalist politics.

> He was the greatest orator the country has ever borne, "with a voice like an orchestra," combining the lofty pathos of the prophet, the versatility of the accomplished actor, and a terrifying power of suggestion; there was no stormy public meeting which he could not master by the mere impact of his personality. He was a prolific journalist, editor, pamphleteer, and propagandist. He could not keep to himself anything that filled his mind; through sixty years he flooded the newspapers with long, signed articles and countless "little anonymous devils," easy to recognize from their striking style and buoyant spirit. He was a skillful organizer, something of a conspirator, and a virtuoso of personal persuasion. He "carried the key that opens people"; he could force access to an inveterate enemy who refused even to see him, and leave with everything obtained—"There is nothing left of him."[38]

In temperament and beliefs, Bjørnson had much in common with Grundtvigians. And indeed, in literary ability, physical vitality, and national influence, he was the Norwegian counterpart of Grundtvig.

Bjørnson knew something about the Grundtvigian movement as early as the 1850s, but it wasn't until 1867 that he became really involved. In that summer, he read Grundtvig's *Sunday Book* and declared that its contents surpassed the thoughts of Kierkegaard. A few months later, he went to Denmark and visited some folk high schools. He wrote enthusiastically of the young Grundtvigians, of how much he admired their beliefs, their passion and joy. Such human beings, he commented, seemed hardly to belong to the current century.[39] He heard Grundtvig, than eighty-four years old, deliver a lecture at the opening of one of the folk high schools, and wrote a glowing description of the occasion for his own magazine *Norsk Folkeblad.* Subsequently he asked one of the staff of *Norsk Folkeblad* to visit the Norwegian folk high school at Sagatun. A long laudatory article appeared on November 16, 1867.

Although Bjørnson didn't seek active contact with the Norwegian folk high school men until two years after his initiation into the movement in Denmark, he was personally acquainted with several of them. Bruun and he had known each other during student days at the university. Bjørnson's famous stories of peasant life and his ardent nationalism had already endeared him to the Norwegian Grundtvigians, so that he was welcomed with open arms once he indicated his interest in their educational work. As I mentioned earlier, it was he who arranged for Bruun to speak to the Kristiania Student Society. From 1870 to 1872, he was besieged with invitations to lecture to folk high school students, and his magnetic presence created wild excitement wherever he went.

Temperamentally, Bjørnson was a natural for the folk high school movement. He was evangelical to the core, childlike in his wild uncritical enthusiasms, always a champion of "heart over head." His early peasant tales in the national romantic tradition (though they contained elements of naturalism as well) and his unbridled patriotism made him the undisputed heir to the "Norwegianness" outlook made popular by Wergeland in the 1830s and 1840s. The folk high school, Bjørnson declared, could sweep away the Danicized bureaucracy which stood between the nation and its cultural mission. From 1869 to 1873, Bjørnson was at the service of the folk high school movement as "poet, writer, and scribe."[40] His songs and stories were a mainstay in the folk high school courses, and he wrote dozens of articles and gave countless speeches in behalf of the movement. He attacked the bureaucratic establishment and its ridiculous Latin school; he urged that the university entrance examinations be abolished. By stressing the folkish and nationalist aspects of the folk high schools over the Grundtvigian interpretations of Christianity, he was able to broaden the base of the movement. Grundtvigian folkishness combined easily with the remnants of the Wergelandian national romanticism.

Between 1873 and 1875, Bjørnson was away from Norway; upon his return he settled on a farm in the same valley as Bruun's school. He came to Bruun's Sunday sermons and lectured at the school on many occasions at

Bruun's request. At first the relationship between the two men was idyllic, but Bjørnson soon became restive in a life style he felt was too narrow and confining. He and Bruun, so different in character, proved at close quarters to be irritants for one another. Bruun was entirely too gloomy and moralistic to suit the expansive and optimistic Bjørnson. Despite Bruun's official stance against the Pietists and despite the Pietists' dislike of his school, Bruun had—in Bjørnson's opinion—a pietistic stink about him. "What frightened Bjørnson in the great religious personalities was their lack of 'sound and straight humanity,' their morbid tendency toward the impossible which unsettled the balance of life on earth. He had felt the chilling breath of such idealism in Ibsen's *Brand*."[41]

One open argument between Bjørnson and Bruun was the monarchy, for the poet was a republican who had no use whatever for a royal house. Then too, Bjørnson's romantic dreams of being at one with the Norwegian peasant were never realized, partly because his political radicalism frightened them. Their instincts were all conservative. Wake up the peasants, Bjornson was finally to grumble in public, and they wake up reactionary.[42] More and more, Bjørnson was influenced by ideas with which he had first come into contact during his trip to the continent and by their chief Scandinavian spokesman, the freethinker Georg Brandes. Science seemed to Bjørnson to be the wave of the future. He began to regard Norway as a cultural backwater instead of the germ of a glorious Nordic society to come. Gradually the folk high school emphasis on Norwegianism and the Nordic spirit became for him a ridiculous and preposterous point of view. Further, Bruun's diatribes against the Dano-Norwegian dialect spoken by educated Norwegians—the dialect which Bjornson spoke and wrote—were a great source of annoyance. How dare anyone tell Bjørnson, acknowledged master of Norwegian literature and innovator in Norwegian literary style, that he ought to be writing in some other language! Bjørnson, always sensitive to new cultural currents (entirely too sensitive, as his opponents were to charge), was now attracted to the ideas of positivism and naturalism in vogue on the continent. He became impatient with old-fashioned romanticism and idealism. Then too, he commenced to read some of the recent German studies in Biblical criticism, and these awakened in him tremendous doubts about Christianity in general, Lutheranism and Grundtvigianism in particular.

Bjørnson's intellectual torment broke into the open in July 1877. Invited that month to speak before a teacher's organization meeting, he attacked the Norwegian folk high school movement for utilizing a hell-and-damnation approach in its religious teachings. People who believed in a religion of terror, he said, could never be free.[43] The Norwegian Grundtvigians, who were already under ferocious attack from the conservatives for their deviations from orthodox Lutheranism, were stunned and disappointed at this stab in the back from Bjørnson. Relations became more strained in October, when word got back to the folk high school men of a Bjørnson speech before the Kristiania student society. In that speech, he openly described the peasants as ignorant and reactionary.[44]

Olav Midttun, in his book on Bjørnson and the folk high schools, maintains that the really serious rupture took place in 1878, and that it was certainly caused by Bjørnson's acquisition of a more realistic point of view. His trip to the continent had so changed his perceptions of Norway that he could no longer believe in the Gruntvigian dream of Nordic ethical cultural leadership. It was just the other way around, Bjørnson now felt; Norway was a positive sinkhole of reaction! And once Bjørnson's eyes had been opened, he was determined to see to it that everyone else's eyes opened as well. Grundtvig had been all right in his day, but that day was now over. The folk high school attacks on the Roman spirit and the intellectual stagnation of the bureaucracy had served a useful purpose, but now those attacks had better be broadened to include religious authoritarianism as a target. Religion was bad in any form said Bjørnson, and all this talk of a Nordic spirit was really just another kind of religion. He himself could no longer seriously believe in a Chosen People.[45] Politically, too, Bjørnson now disagreed with Bruun on most issues. The folk high schools were too often in league, Bjørnson declared, with the richer farmers. His own allegiance was clearly to the Venstre party, Sverdrup's coalition of crofters, peasants, fishermen, urban workers, and intellectuals.

As Bjørnson's attacks on the folk high school movement gained momentum, relations between him and Bruun further deteriorated. By January 1880, Bruun would no longer permit Bjørnson to cross the threshold of his school. He didn't wish his students to be contaminated. And when Bruun's school eventually closed because of financial difficulties, one of Bruun's associates claimed that it was Bjørnson's slanderous remarks around the town which had initially undercut the institution.[46] In fact, the folk high schools all over Norway fell on hard times in the 1880s, trapped between the crossfire from orthodox Lutherans on the one hand and freethinkers on the other. The conservative opposition had been mounted immediately after Bruun's 1870 lectures caught fire among a fair number of university students. It was one thing for radical dreamers to hole up in country outposts where their doctrines were safely hemmed in by the mountains; it was quite another when these wild-eyed lunatics descended on the capital city and captured the sacred podium of the student society. The conservatives suddenly perceived that the folk high school men were, as Klaus Sletten put it in his biography of Bruun, "revolutionary in opposing all state control." "They wanted to be free, to destroy all authority on which the social order was built. They had contempt for 'education,' were carrying on a war against the Latin school, and wanted to establish a rural language and a rural culture such as had never before existed."[47]

When one of the most outspoken opponents of the folk high schools, Nils Hertzberg, succeeded Hartvig Nissen as department director in the Ministry of Church and Education, he hatched a scheme for a set of government-supported county schools to provide advanced, postconfirmation educaton for rural youths. These schools were clearly plotted as the orthodox Lutheran competition for the Grundtvig high schools. Hertzberg's plan was adopted in 1877, though the school control was given to county boards rather than, as Hertzberg had advocated, to his department. Since the county schools were free while the folk high schools had to charge tuition, much of the potential student body for the folk high schools gradually disappeared. In the end, the folk high school leaders—even Bruun—were forced to ask for state funds in order to keep going.

The publication of Bruun's 1870 lectures in book form in 1878 occasioned a storm of comments from members of the freethinking intelligentsia. A full-scale debate in the student society[48] featured criticisms of Bruun's views on nationalism, Christianity, and education. The historian Ernst Sars, for example, ridiculed the notion of a permanent, unchanging national character; nationality, he said, was a product of evolution, of historical development. Several debate participants commented that Bruun's appraisal of nationalism was completely exaggerated. In particular, they saw no validity in the argument that Nordic culture offered any special benefits in comparison with other national cultures. Bruun's book was defended against these criticisms by the novelist Arne Garborg (who wrote, by the way, in *landsmaal*). Garborg insisted that nationalism and cosmopolitanism were not mutually exclusive ideas. Bruun's critics, he said, were the ones whose ideas about nationalism were naive.[49] He admitted, however, that Bruun went a bit overboard on the Germanic folk idea. (By the 1880s Garborg had become a "European" and thought the idea of a farmer culture absolutely ridiculous. His wonderful 1883 novel *Bondestudentar* treats the Grundtvigians in a highly ironic manner.)

Bjørnson, in a remarkable letter to a Swedish editor, had the following to say about the publication of *Folkelige Grundtanker:*

> For God's sake, dear Hedlund, take care before you review Bruun's book . . . . He is not a thinker; he is a will carving out a way . . . . Almost everything good in the book is from Grundtvig, but Grundtvig's exaggerations are exaggerated yet again. There isn't a chapter which doesn't have, alongside some remarkable truths, completely impossible ideals . . . . I am afraid that Christopher Bruun, with all his outstanding philosophizing, is a dangerous person, an enemy of progress. He believes in the Old Testament; he holds to obedience to authority in every possible circumstance. You can discern what his love of freedom really signifies. He is a legitimist, a Protestant legitimist.[50]

Yet Bjørnson, despite his dramatic entry into the ranks of the freethinkers and his denunciations of the dangerous Bruun, remained emotionally tied to Grundtvigianism and the folk high schools. It is really quite touching, for he could never completely shake off his affection for the movement. As late as

1903, he wrote in a reflective letter that the Grundtvigians had been his best friends, that he had always loved their unquenchable zest for reform and their positive outlook on life. "I can no longer sing their songs, say their prayers. To be with them, though—that I can still do."[51] As Anders Skrondal noted in his study of Norwegian Grundtvigianism:

> The circumstances of Bjørnson's and Grundtvig's lives had many similarities. Both came from country parsonages and brought with them an impression of Christianity which lasted through life and influenced their work. Both lived long enough in rural surroundings during their formative years so that they were able to get a sense of the richness and complexity of rural life. Both were transplanted to strange surroundings during important developmental periods; both reacted in the same way to the change. Both men saw that urban culture was a veneer, that it failed on emotional grounds. Both stood somewhat outside urban culture, for that which meant most to them was ridiculed . . . . Both felt a God-given call to lead the people to more enlightened times in the home and school, in politics and the church.[52]

Bjørnson's conversion to "freethinking," to evolution and antireligion, in no way diminished his evangelistic nationalism. Indeed, it was his remarkable ability to adapt that old-time Grundtvigian nationalism to a new intellectual outlook which made him so influential for so long.[53]

Some Implications for North America and Western Europe

The recent wave of enthusiasm among intellectuals for conscious, ideological cultural pluralism arises in part from despair over the end of the liberal dream. Integration appears to be further away than ever, if not downright impossible. Even the consensus theories of the "allrightnick" sociologists turn out to have been wrong; it seems unlikely now that there could be consensus on anything.

> Any person who wants to "rule" (or simply survive in office) has two options. He can try to manufacture a sort of *ersatz* Americanism which most people will hopefully salute, and which will create some semblance of "common values," or he can become a figure of repression, can lead the strong against the weak and launch pogroms against the most threatening and/or vulnerable elements, or he can do both. The problem is the same for any public executive whether he is the school principal or the President of the United States: proclaim the blessings of freedom and citizenship, search the gym lockers, bust the Panther offices, infiltrate the Left, and most of all, talk to the powerful as if the weak were strong and the strong were weak.[54]

Then, too, there is a tremendous distaste among intellectuals for the packaged quality of everyday American life—MacDonald's hamburgers, TV dinners, Holiday Inns. Preserved or resurrected ethnic cultures are seen as part of a counterbalance to industrial standardization and bureaucratization. Finally, the possibilities for socialism in this country seem more remote than ever; those who want radical social reform are therefore searching for some other ways to organize resistance.

The romanticized view of American "ethnics" is not unlike the golden vision of the peasant in the nineteenth century. The glorious culture isn't really there; it has to be carefully reconstructed. Nonetheless, just as cultural nationalism in the nineteenth century was the impetus for new kinds of history and literature, so conscious cultural pluralism in this country is upsetting traditional establishment history and inspiring experiment in literature and film. It is now affecting education. Who could have predicted a few years ago that Berkeley High School would divide into "tribes," with blacks and Chicanos taking separate classes?

"One nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." *E pluribus unum*. The public schools were a part of the effort to create a unified national culture based on citizenship, on loyalty to certain political procedures. Race, religion, and ethnic origin were not supposed to count. We were to have a nation-state, with the "nation" created through education and democratic political processes. Our nationalism was to be a byproduct of the creation of our state. Now there is wide disillusionment with both state and nation. The old cultural nationalism—with its emphasis on ethnic origins, on tradition, on rootedness, on heritage—is attractive once again as a counterbalance to the American state, the constructed or indoctrinated national culture, and the American public school system.

In nineteenth-century Norway, the concept of a "natural" Norwegian nation which existed apart from the state was crucial in the struggle to depose a ruling elite and to alter an education associated with that elite. The chief argument used by a Christopher Bruun (inborn spirit of a people) is no longer acceptable, but the cultural nationalist position can be—and is being—recast in suitable modern terms (group identity, social cohesion, ethnic complementarity, cultural heritage, and the like). To me, the interesting point about cultural nationalist theory is its ideal construct of a nation as distinct from the state. Such a construct can be a powerful battering ram against existing state institutions and those who control them. In the United States, it would seem—where we have for much too long pretended that there existed, or that there *must* exist, a single American nation which corresponded to the state—several doses of old-fashioned cultural nationalism could only be salutary.

NOTES

1. "J. G. Herder," *Encounter* 25 (1965):29-48.
2. *Den norske Folkeskole* 2: pp. 223-24.
3. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.
4. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
5. Some marvelous examples of an Englishman's failure to grasp what was ideologically involved in the Norwegian language movement are contained in T. K. Derry's *A Short History of Norway* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968). Speaking of the Sverdrup ministry, which gave *landsmaal* (the language constructed from Norwegian western rural dialects) equal official footing with Dano-Norwegian, Derry writes: "For the peasantry, in the west at least, *landsmaal* had become a shibboleth by which to distinguish the true democrat from the adherents of the language of foreign snobbery—to which Ibsen and Björnson were at the moment giving new greatness. The new law placed the two forms in a position of absolute equality in the schools and in official usage. Thus democracy and the passion for egalitarianism triumphed over convenience, common sense, and (probably) the true interests of Norwegian culture" (p. 190). Yet earlier in the book, Derry had noted that "for the English public folk-songs, folk-dances, and even folk-museums are minority interests: but on the continent an almost mystical significance has been attached to the evidences of a past way of living, in which the spirit of the folk-group is believed to be handed down from generation to generation" (p. 166). Derry's very English attitude of these foreign fellows being silly about a lot of things comes through loud and clear.
6. Haugen, *Language Conflict*, p. 283.
7. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1967, p. 117.
8. Ibid., p. 118; E. Høigaard & H. Ruge, *Denmorske skoles historie* (Oslo: Cappelens, 1947), pp. 122-23.
9. *Ole Vig* (Kristiania: Norsk Skoletidende, 1913).
10. Koht was both nationalist and socialist. Active for years in the Labor party, he was minister of foreign affairs in 1935.
11. Reprinted in Historisk Tidsskrift, *Hundre aars historisk forskning* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970), pp. 197-229.
12. For an excellent discussion of the error of labeling nationalist movements "right" or "left" see E. Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), p. 89.
13. "Historiens Vaerd," *Folkevennen* 3 (1854):10.
14. Ibid., p. 31.
15. "Om Folkeskolernes Vaesen . . ." (1852):44.
16. Ibid., p. 47.
17. *Den norske Folkeskole* 2:144-45.
18. "The Father of Us All," *New York*, Feb. 1, 1971, p. 56.
19. Michael Meyer, Foreword to *Brand* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1960), p. 13.
20. Ibid., p. 14.
21. *Brand*, tr. by Meyer (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1960), p. 99.
22. Ibid., p. 135.
23. Ibid., p. 130.
24. Eivind Berggrav, "Bruun," *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon* II:256-63.
25. Bruun's account of this speech, given in a letter to his mother, is contained in *Soldat for Sanning og Rett* (Oslo, 1964), pp. 54-56.
26. A detailed account of the events surrounding Bruun's lectures is provided in Fredrik B. Wallem, *Det Norske Studentersamfund gjennem hundrede aar, 1813 - Oktober - 1913* (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1916), II:613-20.
27. *Folkelige Grundtanker* (Christiania: Steenske Bogtrykkeri, 1878), pp. 16-17.
28. Ibid., p. 19.
29. Ibid., p. 22.
30. Ibid., p. 25.
31. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
32. Bruun here used the word *Stamme*, which is difficult to translate. Originally it meant *tribe* and was employed for the Franks, Swabians, Saxons, etc. Later it was used for what we in English would call *nation*. On this linguistic problem, see Lewis Namier, *Avenues of History* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), n. on p. 36.

33. *Folkelige Grundtanker*, p. 90.

34. Ibid., p. 127.

35. Ibid., p. 162.

36. Klaus Sletten, *Christopher Bruun; folkelaeraren—stridsmannen* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1949), p. 90.

37. *Henrik Ibsen, A Critical Study* (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1964), p. 131.

38. Halvdan Koht and Sigmund Skard, *The Voice of Norway* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 243.

39. Olav S. Midttun, *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson og Folkehoyskonen* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1954), pp. 25-26.

40. Ibid., p. 31.

41. Koht and Skard, *Voice of Norway*, p. 252.

42. Bjørnson, *Artikler og Taler* (Kristiania: Gyldendal, 1912), I:441.

43. *Norsk Skoletidende* (1877), No. 32.

44. Midttun, *Bjørnson*, p. 76. The full speech is contained in *Artikler og Taler*, I:438-43.

45. Ibid., p. 83.

46. Ibid., p. 99.

47. Sletten, *Christopher Bruun* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1949), pp. 90-91.

48. See Wallem, *Studentersamfund*, pp. 724-31.

49. Ibid., p. 727.

50. *Bjørnstjerne Bjørnsons brevveksling med Svenske 1858-1909* (Oslo: Gylendal, 1960), I:286-87. Letter 229 to S. A. Hedlund, August 12, 1878.

51. Letter to O. P. Monrad, April 25, 1903.

52. Anders Skrondal, *Grundtvigianismen i Noreg*, (Bergen: Lunde, 1936), p. 75.

53. Haugen, *Norwegian-English Dictionary*, p. 23.

54. Peter Schrag, *The Decline of the Wasp* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), p. 167.

Contributions to the Swedish Democratic Movement

H. Erickson

The problems encountered in evaluating adult education in, for example, folk high schools, are no different from those involved in evaluating any kind of education. In each case the factors to be evaluated must be selected on the basis on one criterion or another. Most evaluation in the formal education structure is based on tests of rote memory. As we advance beyond this method, we try to create some sort of definite measure of the student's comprehension, or, further, we try to evaluate education in terms of eventual annual money income. In the latter instance we are placing a success label on the results of education within a status quo society.

Why would it not be appropriate to ask what kind of education is most likely to effect change in a democratic social structure? If we could evaluate education in terms of the influence it has on the social structure rather than on individual incomes, we would then be measuring its influence in terms of social and economic progress rather than on the basis of competitive individualism. A first step in such an evaluation would be an analysis of the educational background of leaders in a democratic society. This chapter presents such a first step—a look at the education of leaders in Sweden, which reveals the extent to which reliance has been placed on adult education and self-study for the development of leadership abilities.

Adult education is defined here as a nonformal type of education which is aimed at those persons who have had some experience with the normal adult responsibilities of life. It is free from the rigid disciplines of compulsory curriculum requirements which terminate in a final examination and an academic degree. It is voluntary, and the magnitude of learning depends on individual interest and initiative and not on competitive tests. The only valid measure of adult education is the personal gratification of the individual concerned and the quality of his or her behavior as a citizen and functionary in a democratic society.

For the purpose of this chapter, the Swedish folk high schools, study circles, correspondence courses, labor and management schools, and special short courses are classified as adult education media. A moderate qualification to the general definition is necessary with respect to the folk high school. The student there is confronted with a liberal arts curriculum for a one- to four-year resident course. But he is not required to take examinations; he himself determines how much he learns. A spirit of cooperative effort is generated by the complete freedom of discussion and the absence of rivalry.

A factor which distinguishes Sweden from other countries is the role played by folk adult education during the formative years of Swedish democracy. The two movements developed and grew together, with folk education burgeoning for the specific purpose of serving the democratic processes and training people to exercise their newly acquired political power. This historic parallel seems to have been significant for the development of today's Swedish leaders in that they tended to look to folk high schools and adult education for their training rather than to advanced academic schooling.

A unique feature of the Swedish folk education movement is that its purpose and objectives are linked not to financial motivations but rather to enhancement of personality. It is the expressed intention of the movement to provide education for adults who have had some experience with life and have acquired more mature judgment than youths who normally attend secondary schools. The movement is not an adjunct to the vocational schools. Instead, it seeks to enrich the student's personality, to increase his competence to serve his group and his community, and to broaden his interest in and understanding of art and literature. The underlying theory is that a better society can spring only from better human beings.

Let us take a look at the kind of society Swedish leadership has produced. Since the end of World War II Sweden has had a full employment economy by any definition of that concept. Sweden also has a higher standard of living than any other European country, and social legislation provides security for the Swedish citizen from birth through old age. Industry is expanding and poverty is virtually nonexistent. The leaders of both parties in the labor-management field are dedicated to service to their respective groups, an attitude which is modified only by a deepseated social conscience which takes cognizance of the interests of the larger community. The prevailing attitude of each party in the labor-management relationship is one of mutual respect and recognition of the other's rights. This combination of social conscience and mutual respect has led to a wholesome spirit at the bargaining table and has dimished the incidence of open conflict in the form of strikes or lockouts.

In looking at education of leaders in Swedish society today, one must keep in mind that the people who run Sweden are not the political leaders exclusively. The voluntary associations play an important role, so that education conducted by these organizations has implications in the operation of the democratic institutions. The Swedish citizen is a joiner; he belongs to organizations of various kinds through which he expresses and pursues his special interests. The original "organization man" must have been a Swede. Workers belong to labor unions, employers belong to employers' associations, farmers belong to their respective farm organizations, and consumers belong to cooperatives. These four groups exercise significant control over wages, prices, and the economic stability of Sweden. Each group also conducts its own schools and extensive adult education programs for its members.

In the survey reported here, information was gathered on the education of political leaders and of members of Parliament and of selected city councils.[1] The education of leaders of organized labor, the largest and most influential of the powerful voluntary associations, is also discussed, based on data obtained in a survey made by the Swedish Confederation of Labor (LO).[2] No attempt was made to survey or obtain similar data about the educational background of leaders of the other voluntary associations.

This survey of political leaders revealed that of the 150 members in the first chamber of Swedish Parliament, a total of 52, or 35 percent, had some formal education above the elementary level (Table 6.1). A further breakdown reveals that 17, or 12 percent, of the membership had some secondary school education, and 35, or 23 percent, had college education. The largest single category of those with college degrees were persons with law degrees.

We find similar proportions when we consider the second chamber of Parliament. Only 77 out of 232 members of this chamber had any formal education above the elementary school level. Of these, 32 had some secondary school while 45 were college-trained. When we reduce these figures to percentages, we find that 14 percent had some secondary school education and 19 percent had some college training, making a total of 33 percent of the members of the second chamber with education above the elementary school level.

Combining the data from the first and second chambers, we get a total of 382 members, of whom 129, or 34 percent, have education above the elementary school level. The other 66 percent of the entire membership of the Swedish Parliament have relied entirely on self-study or informal education to prepare themselves for public service. It is interesting to note that out of the combined membership of both houses, only 23 persons (or 6 percent) are lawyers or have law degrees. This figure contrasts sharply with the United States Congress, where more than 50 percent of the members have law degrees.[3]

The Cabinet of Ministers, which is headed by the prime minister and includes the heads of various government departments, is composed of 15 members. In 1962 8 of these had gone to college and most of them had acquired advanced academic degrees. But 7 members of this top governing body of the Swedish state had gone the road of adult education in preparing for public service.

A breakdown of the educational background of members of Parliament by political parties creates an interesting and informative pattern. A majority

TABLE 6.1

Formal Education Beyond the Elementary School Level in the Swedish Parliament, 1961-1962

First Chamber

	1		2				3			4	5
Party		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h		
Social Democrat	77		1	1	2	4	2		4	14	18
Liberal (*Folkpartiet*)	33		1	6	2	3	4	2	3	21	64
Agrarian (*Centerpartiet*)	19			1		1				2	11
Conservative (*Höger*)	19	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	4	15	79
Communist	2									0	
Totals	150	1	4	12	5	9	7	3	11	52	35

Second Chamber

	1		2				3			4	5
Party		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h		
Social Democrat	113	5	3	3	4	4	3	3	1	26	23
Liberal	40	5	2	1	4	3	3	2	2	22	55
Agrarian	35	1	2					1	1	5	14
Conservative	39	3		7	1	2	1	2	8	24	62
Communist	5									0	
Totals	232	14	7	11	9	9	7	8	12	77	33

Both Chambers

	1		2				3			4	5	6
Party		a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h			
Social Democrat	190	5	4	4	6	8	5	3	5	40	21	79
Liberal	73	5	3	7	6	6	7	4	5	43	59	41
Agrarian	54	1	2	1		1		1	1	7	13	87
Conservative	58	4	2	11	2	3	2	3	12	39	67	33
Communist	7									0	0	100
Totals	382	15	11	23	14	18	14	11	23	129	34	66

1. Total number
2. Secondary schools
   a. Technical
   b. Junior high
   c. Senior high graduate
3. College and university
   d. Teachers examination
   e. A.B. equivalent
   f. A.M. equivalent
   g. Ph.D. or M.D.
   h. Law degree
4. Total number with education above the elementary level
5. Percent of total number
6. Percent of total without higher education.

(79 percent) of the members of the largest and most influential party, the Social Democrats, seem to have relied more on informal adult education in the labor movement than on the formal education system for their training. Thus, the percentage of them who had academic education is smaller than that of any other party in Parliament, with the exception of the Agrarian party and possibly the Communists, who listed no one with education beyond the six-year elementary level. It would seem appropriate to exclude the Communist party from this comparison since numerically it is very small and the Communists who were queried, in contrast to members of all other parties, were somewhat reticent about answering questions on their educational background put to them by an American "capitalist." The Agrarian party, with which the Social Democratic government has had a coalition for many years, had 87 percent of its members in Parliament who had no advanced formal education.

The pattern begins to change when we look at the Liberal and Conservative parties. Three fifths of the Liberals and two thirds of the Conservatives had education beyond the elementary school level, and most of them were college-educated. This leaves us with only 41 percent of the Liberals and 33 percent of the Conservatives with no formal education above the elementary school level.

The city councils of Stockholm and of three smaller communities also had a very large percentage of members who had not completed secondary school (Table 6.2). In Stockholm, of a city council of 100 members, 49 had secondary school education or higher and 51 had relied primarily on adult education and self-study for all of their education beyond elementary school. When we examine the percentages within the various political parties, we find approximately the same pattern of education as among members of the Swedish Parliament. Thirty-four of the 46 Social Democrats had not completed secondary school education, while only 6 of the 29 Conservatives and 6 of the 19 Liberals are in this category. Of the 6 Communists on the Stockholm City Council, 5 had no formal education above the elementary school level; one had an advanced college degree. As might be expected, the Agrarian party had no representation on the Stockholm City Council.

Nacka, a suburb of Stockholm, reflected the same tendencies of the "parent" city in the composition of its city council. The percentage of Social Democrats and Conservatives was almost identical to that on the Stockholm council, and the educational background of the respective party members was similar. The Nacka City Council had 35 members, 17 of whom had education beyond secondary school; 18 of the members had relied only on self-study or adult education. Only 2 of the 16 Social Democrats had gone through secondary school or higher in their formal education.

In communities which are removed from the metropolitan area, an even larger proportion of the representatives on city councils had relied entirely on adult education for their background and training. One such city was Katrineholm, a highly industrialized community with a population of about

TABLE 6.2

Composition and Education of Selected
City Councils in Sweden, 1962

Party	*Stockholm*			*Nacka**			*Katrineholm***			*Vimmerby****		
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c
Social Democrat	46	12	34	16	2	14	19	1	18	11	1	10
Conservative	29	23	6	11	10	1	5	3	2	7	5	2
Liberal	19	13	6	6	5	1	5	2	3	3	1	2
Agrarian							1		1	4		4
Communist	6	1	5	2		2						
Totals	100	49	51	35	17	18	30	6	24	25	7	18

*A suburb of Stockholm.
**An industrial community
***A rural agricultural center.

a. Total number.
b. Secondary education or above.
c. Not completed secondary education.

35,000. Because the labor movement was an influential factor in the government of such a city, the formal education level of the council members tended to be lower than it was elsewhere. In Katrineholm the city council had 30 members, only 6 of whom had education beyond high school; the other 24 relied on self-study or adult education.

The difference in percentages is attributable in part to the size of the Social Democratic representation on the city council. In Stockholm, the Social Democrats had 46 out of 100 members, not quite a majority, and the same was true of Nacka where Social Democrats had 16 out of 35 members. In Katrineholm the Social Democrats elected 19 out of 30 members and thus held a substantial majority on the council. It is also noteworthy that the Agrarian party had one member on the city council of Katrineholm while it had no representation at all on the Stockholm City Council. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the Stockholm council had 6 Communist members, while the city council of Katrineholm, predominantly a community of workers, did not have a single Communist elected to its council. Of the Katrineholm council members who had completed secondary school or higher, 3 were Conservatives, 2 were Liberals, and only one was a Social Democrat. Eighteen Social Democrats, 2 Conservatives, 3 Liberals, and the one Agrarian party representative had relied on adult education for their preparation to serve in leadership positions in their community.

Vimmerby, a rural town with a population of some 6,000, was chosen for the survey in order to identify any possible differences in the educational background of people elected to city councils in predominantly rural or agricultural areas. In Vimmerby the city council had 25 members, 7 of whom had some form of higher education; 18 had no education beyond the elementary school level, although 3 of the latter had taken the junior high school examination. The percentage of city council members with higher education was only slightly larger than that in Katrineholm, but it also should be noted that the number of representatives from the Conservative party was greater here than in the predominantly industrial community of Katrineholm. In Vimmerby the Social Democrats had only 11 members out of 25 on the council and thus were short of a majority; the Conservatives had 7 members. In Katrineholm the Social Democrats had 19 members on a council of 30, while the Conservatives had 5 members. An additional factor is that the Agrarian party elected 4 members to the Vimmerby City Council whereas in Katrineholm it had only one member on the council. The Social Democrats and the Agrarian party, representing labor and the farmers, both rely heavily on folk high schools and adult education as a means of educating their leaders and representatives in the various branches of local and national government. The factor which creates a little difference in the number of representatives with higher education on the city council of Vimmerby compared with Katrineholm is, of course, the number of Conservative members. Five out of the 7 Conservatives on the Vimmerby City Council had advanced academic degrees.

For data on the educational background of leaders of a powerful voluntary association, I relied on a survey of the educational background of full-time elected officers and functionaries of the national unions and of LO itself. Such a survey was conducted by the LO's Research Department in 1954-1955.[4] Questionnaires were sent to 406 persons, 317 of whom were active functionaries at the time and 89 of whom were retired. The study was limited to elected officials of the national organizations and of LO. No effort was made to obtain information from officers at the local union level or from officers at any level who devoted only part-time to the union function and the major part of their time to an industrial job. Officials of city central bodies also were excluded from the study, as were the unions' technical staff people who are hired to do research and legal service for the unions. Such personnel are by necessity, and in any case almost always, persons with advanced college degrees. Replies were received from 286 active functionaries, or a little over 90 percent of those queried; 60 retirees, or 67.4 percent, also replied to the questionnaire.

Of all persons replying to the questionnaire, only 11.2 percent had general academic education that included the equivalent of some junior high school, and a few had gone beyond that level. On the basis of American equivalents, the distribution was that 4.1 percent had attended junior high school and 3.1 percent had attended senior high. The data do not reveal whether anyone actually completed senior high. The remainder listed attendance at trade schools and business schools as part of their formal education. Thus, about 90 percent of the leadership of the labor movement in Sweden, in 1954 and before, had relied entirely on adult education media for liberal education beyond the general grade school level. No college education was mentioned in the replies in this study.

The average functionary had taken two short courses, had participated in three study circles, had taken one correspondence course, and had engaged in self-study in at least two subjects. A review of subjects studied indicates heavy concentration on economic and social topics, but it also reveals fairly numerous study circles in languages, reflecting the fact that European trade unionists have fairly constant contact with fellow unionists who speak different languages and feel the need to be able to communicate with them. Thus adult education of labor leaders in Sweden breaks down into three fairly significant subject areas: trade unionism, social sciences, and languages. This same type of course program is taken by anyone attending one of the two resident labor folk high schools now in operation in Sweden.

The two full-time labor schools, owned and operated by LO in close conjunction with the labor folk high schools at Runö and Brunnsvik, offer at least one three-month course and several six-week courses each year as intensive long-term resident programs for active trade unionists. An analysis of who the students are and where they come from is of some interest in explaining the education of leaders of the Swedish labor movement. A look at the student registration records of Runö Labor Folk High School revealed that the students enrolled in the three-month course which ran from September 9 to December 12, 1961, were predominantly union officers. Only 3 out of 34 listed other union duties and another 3 listed duties with other organizations on their applications. Only 2 out of the 34 listed no organizational duties.

An analysis of the studies prior to coming to the three-month course at the labor folk high school also indicates the pattern that makes people in the Swedish labor movement regard their long-term labor courses as "graduate courses" in workers' education. Most of the students had taken other union courses—a one-week or a weekend course, or several such courses, mostly sponsored by their own national union. In addition, more than half of them listed study circles as part of their educational background. Labor leaders regard this type of activity as appropriate progression in workers' education from lower to higher levels. Thus, an interested and active union member may enroll in a study circle on trade unionism. He may then be chosen by his international union to attend a one- or two-week course, and after that he may take the six weeks' or three months' course at either Runö or Brunnsvik Labor Folk High School.

The kind of adult education media mentioned most often by members of Parliament in answering survey questions may indicate what the members themselves regarded as sufficiently important to be mentioned, and it may also indicate that one adult education medium is more significant and effective than another as a means of training competent people to assume leadership (Table 6.3). The medium mentioned most often was the folk high school. The percentage was high among the Social Democrats, but it was even higher

TABLE 6.3

Adult Education in the Swedish Parliament, 1961-1962

First Chamber

	1	2				3	4
Party		a	b	c	d		
Social Democrat	77	7	23	16	18	21	4
Liberal	33		2	2	1	6	2
Agrarian	19	1	6	5	1	4	3
Conservative	19		1			1	2
Communist	2					2	
Totals	150	8	32	23	20	34	11

Second Chamber

	1	2				3	4
Party		a	b	c	d		
Social Democrat	113	10	34	33	20	26	4
Liberal	40		6	6		3	5
Agrarian	35	1	15	5	2	3	9
Conservative	39		2	1		4	7
Communist	5		1			2	2
Totals	232	11	58	45	22	38	27

1. Total number.
2. The number of times each was mentioned. Several mentioned two or more.
    a. Study circle.
    b. Folk high school.
    c. Correspondence courses
    d. Labor schools and various short courses.
3. No education mentioned.
4. Listed only vocational courses.

among the members of the Agrarian party. Its mention by members of the latter group is understandable because the folk high school idea was originated by groups of farmers to train citizens to accept certain democratic responsibilities. The reasons for its mention by the Social Democrats is less clear, but perhaps it can be explained by what they thought was important in their training. There seems to be a strong indication that the Brunnsvik school, which was almost the only folk high school listed by Social Democrats, had played a more significant role in shaping Swedish leadership than any other institution. The greater merits of the folk high school may, however, lie in the fact that they are resident schools at which a person lives and studies, exclusive of all other activities. This is not true, of course, of study circles and correspondence courses. Teaching methods at folk high schools are informal, and no competitive pressures are imposed on the students. These methods require a much greater amount of initiative on the part of students than more conventional methods of instruction, and it may be that persons who took advantage of folk high school education were those who normally would display initiative, an important leadership quality.

Another interesting feature about the pattern of folk adult education is that the study circles were mentioned least often by the political leaders. This point becomes even more significant when we consider that the study circle educates more people than any other type of adult education in Sweden, having some 800,000 participants every year.[5] In contrast, the folk high school is a very small institution. Sweden has some 100 folk high schools with a total annual enrollment of about 13,000. Half of them are now operated by voluntary associations; the other half are community-operated.

It should also be noted that correspondence courses ran a close second to the folk high school in the number of times they were mentioned by members of Parliament as a source of education. Here again individual initiative and determination play an important part, and a commitment to this kind of educational activity is perhaps more significant as an indication of leadership potential than participation in a study circle. Other types of education mentioned more often than study circles were the schools of the voluntary associations, such as the labor schools, with their six- and thirteen-week courses and numerous short courses. Again, these were resident schools of from one to several weeks' duration and required the student to pursue his studies free from other obligations and activites.

It would be unwise, however, to downgrade the study circle movement. The leaders of Sweden are chosen by democratic elections, and a majority of the voters are educated in study circles and lecture courses for adults. Enrollment in such education programs in one year is more than 1,600,000. Some individuals may be enrolled in more than one study circle or lecture program in the course of a year. Allowance for this sort of duplication would reduce this number somewhat, but leaders in the Swedish adult education field estimate that about 1,000,000 different individuals participate annually in the various adult education programs and about two thirds of them are members of study circles. This figure represents 20 percent of all adults twenty-one years of age or older and 14 percent of the entire population of Sweden. It is safe to assume that a large majority of the entire population have at one time or another participated in some adult education activity, and the activity which reaches the greatest number of people is the study circle.

One might conclude from the above data on the education of Swedish leaders that formal higher academic education tends to create or reinforce conservative outlooks. Recent studies in the United States indicate that American college graduates are more likely to be Republicans that Democrats. The same study revealed that students whose parents sent them to college showed a greater tendency toward success by income standards than did students who had to work their way through. This finding seems to indicate that for students who come from families wealthy enough to send their children to college and whose parents and other family members are by tradition college graduates and conservative, the economic rather than the education factor seems to predominate.

The same tendency can be noted in Sweden; there, too, the wealthier and professional classes who traditionally send their sons and daughters to college also tend to be conservative in their thinking. These people were conservative before entering college and continued to be conservative, as a family tradition. They usually belong to the Conservative party.

When we look at the Liberal party, we see somewhat the same pattern, but we also begin to find some party members who did not come from wealthy famlies and were not college-educated. Fewer Liberals than Conservatives reported a college education. It may well be impossible to separate the social and economic motive from educational background in trying to identify the source of a person's point of view. The point which needs to be made, however, is that higher formal education does not seem to be conducive to an awakening of a social conscience.

One might perhaps attribute the shortcomings of the higher education system, in its failure to adequately develop social human beings, to the competitive nature of the education offered. Students are constantly confronted with examinations and the pressure to maintain grade averages which someone considers adequate for a degree. They tend to become competitors in a rivalry which may be destructive of a sense of social awareness. They are often swallowed up in the vortex of a need for individual superiority which precludes consideration of the needs of others. This does not mean that higher education does not need its standards and present incentives for achievement and excellence, but it must guard against allowing itself to become antisocial in a competitive *mêlée*.

Modern democracy must be concerned with equality and human need. The sense of social responsibility called for is most likely to be generated by an adult education system of the type one finds in Sweden. Swedish society is greatly influenced by leaders who have relied largely on folk colleges and folk adult education. Most of the leaders in government and all of the leaders of the labor movement, the most influential voluntary association in the country, have depended almost entirely on adult education and self-study to prepare themselves for their positions of leadership. The leaders of Sweden are people who have both the ability and the initiative to make maximum use of existing opportunities. When one looks at the educational level they have reached, one must conclude that the original purpose of adult education in the Swedish democratic movement, to develop human beings who could function effectively and successfully in a democratic society, has been achieved.

Although we have not proven a direct cause-and-effect relationship, this limited survey would seem to indicate that adult education in the Swedish folk movement has played an important role in the successful functioning of Swedish democracy.

NOTES

1. This survey was conducted by referring to available information in the library of Parliament, by studying the records of city and town councils, and by personal interviews. In the city of Stockholm a great deal of interviewing was done by telephone. Secretaries of city councils, however, were helpful in supplying information regarding the education of most of the members of the respective council. The student files at Runö Labor School were also made accessible to the author. The survey was made in 1961-1962.

2. *Landsorganizationen i Sverige.* For convenience, we will hereafter refer to the federation as LO.

3. Congressional Directory, 88th Congress, First Session, March 1963.

4. *Fackföreningsrorelsen*, January and March 1956.

5. The *Ecklesiastikdepartementet* reported that in the fiscal year of 1958-1959, 816,541 persons were enrolled in study circles and another 841,014 attended lectures or were enrolled in lecture courses. By adding these two figures we get a total of 1,657,555. *Folkbildningsarbete och Ungdomsverksamhet, Statens Offentliga Utredningar* (Stockholm: 1961), S.44.

The Swede-Finn Movement for Ethnic Separatism in Finland*

R. G. Paulston

Although the ethnicity-educational change nexus would seem to be of increasing interest to educational anthropologists, there has been surprisingly little effort made to systematically delineate variables or examine relationships in specific field settings. We have, for example, little knowledge of how and to what effect various ethnic groups have influenced ethnic education programs in public schools or have created and used their own nonformal educational programs outside of superordinate control. We need to determine under what conditions groups mobilizing around cultural symbols—i.e., the "old" ethnicity—as well as groups seeking to use ethnicity in resource competition—i.e., the "new" ethnicity—have sought to use education in formal schools, in informal programs, and via the media and resocialization, to help achieve ethnic movement goals for individual and social change.[1]

A second research question might well ask about the pedagogical aims, processes, and outcomes of ethnic education programs in various configurations of ideology and autonomy. In addition, we will also need to ask a third question concerning evaluation of ethnic education programs. Here, we need to ascertain both anticipated and unanticipated outcomes, and to produce generalizations concerning key factors influencing the relative effectiveness of education programs.

In this chapter, I would like to suggest a typology of ethnic education programs and examine a case where folk high schools and separate formal education have been used since World War I to maintain and defend a separate ethnic identity. Where most anthropological studies of ethnicity and education examine the educational problems of weak, low-status ethnic groups in superordinate efforts to assimilate, enfold, or isolate, this case study of the Swede-Finns (SF) will examine a rather unusual situation where a declining cultural, economic, and social elite has sought to maintain ethnic identity and boundaries through control of a separate Swedish-speaking school system and widespread nonformal educational efforts.

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* This paper draws on field work in Finland during 1973. It is part of an ongoing project at the University of Pittsburgh on education in social and ethnic movements. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 1976.

Before we examine the Swede-Finn case, however, it may be helpful to very briefly delineate the entire range of the phenomena under study, and to suggest some useful categories. One approach might be to sort out cases along the two dimensions of change and control as in Table 7.1. Here, the vertical dimension is the degree of normative and structural change sought by program authorities and reflected in explicit learning goals. The horizontal dimension indicates the degree of control or autonomy from central educational authorities held by ethnic groups or movements seeking to influence ethnic education ideology, outcomes, and the like.

TABLE 7.1

A Typology of Ethnic Education Programs

Degree of Normative and Structural Change Sought		
High	*Alternative Programs:* i.e., Black, Chicano, Native American, Studies' Enclaves in Higher education; Some Formal School Bilingual Education Programs	*Transformative Programs:* i.e., Black Panther, American Indian Movement, and other Militant Ethnic Movement Programs.
Low	*Supplemental Programs:* i.e., Bilingual and Ethnic Heritage Programs in Formal Schools	*Defensive Programs*: i.e., Amish, Swede-Finn, Saxon German, and Most Reservation Indian Programs, Danish-American Folk High School Programs, Hebrew Schools, and Nation of Islam
Degree of Ethnic Control	Low	High

In the lower left quadrant, for example, supplemental ethnic studies, ethnic heritage, and/or bilingual education programs are offered in educational settings—in North America and Northern Europe—dominated by superordinate elements with long traditions of using public schooling for acculturative and assimilationist ends. Where these elite elements come under pressure for greater cultural pluralism yet continue to control, the response will be token programs, i.e., pluralistic educational experiences that Kjolseth argues are increasingly viewed by school authorities as the most effective route to assimilation.[2] Supplemental programs are also discussed by Andersson, Seifer, and Gambino.[3]

Alternative programs, in the upper left quadrant, like supplemental programs, are largely controlled by mainstream society and, accordingly, will be part of the formal school system. They differ from supplemental programs, however, in that they seek greater ethnic consciousness, solidarity, and, at times, the modification of supposedly oppressive relations with the dominant society. Alternative programs arise when ethnic groups have made power gains and seek to use existing institutions to advance both individual and group goals. Examples of such programs may be seen in numerous black, Chicano, Native American, and women's movement enclaves in higher education; and in bilingual education programs in the southwestern United States where recent ethnic gains in political power have created conditions favorable for alternative programs.[4]

If, however, the pressure for change exceeds the tolerance of superordinate control elements, alternative programs as in the upper left quadrant will, as the structural functionalists rightly tell us, one way or another be brought back to conformance with the consensus, or eliminated.[5]

Defensive programs, in the lower right side quadrant, are high in autonomy yet seek low to moderate change. Rather, they control the content and ideological orientation of their educational programs either within their own communities and formal school programs—as with the Amish or Swede-Finns—or within such ethnic formal and nonformal educational programs as afternoon Hebrew schools and German schools to maintain valued cultural behaviors, preserve ethnic boudaries, and resist total assimilation into mainstream society.[6]

Transformative programs, in the upper right quadrant, because of their rejection of the existing cultural hegemony and high priority on individual change and social reconstruction, will, when they exist, be found in the nonformal, or out-of-school educational sector where greater program autonomy is possible. Some examples of the more militant approach of transformative programs are included in Mason, Mecarelli, Lejeune and Paulston.

Although neither space nor time is available here to place all ethnic education programs into the typology suggested, we have noted some illustrative cases. Although all ethnic education programs should fit somewhere in this schema, exact location will, of course, shift with changes in the educational goals and program autonomy of ethnic groups involved.

The Swede-Finn Case

As we have noted, examples of separate education as an ethnic survival strategy in the United States can be found in Hostetler's Amish studies, Mortensen's work on the Danish Lutheran folk high schools in America, and in a number of related works on ethnic minorities. These groups have sought, with varying success, to avoid complete assimilation into the American "melting pot," in part by providing alternative educational programs. Where the ownership of land and compact settlement reinforce ethnic boundary maintenance, as with the Amish, separate education has powerfully contributed to ethnic survival. Where settlement has been scattered and ethnic boundary maintenance weak, as with the Danes, separate education has at best served to ease acculturation and assimilation into the national culture.

We must go to Europe, however, for examples of relatively high-status group minorities that control separate educational programs in efforts to maintain what is left of fading cultural and economic dominance. One group, for example, the "Saxon" ethnic Germans of southern Transylvania in Romania, is now facing disintegration after some eleven centuries of educational and political autonomy.[8]

The Swedish-speaking community in Finland presents in some ways, a comparable case. Yet, while the Swede-Finns are clearly in decline, they continue to use a variety of formal and nonformal educational programs to sustain group solidarity and separate ethnic identity. In the remainder of this paper I will address the three research questions proposed at the outset, using a culture conflict perspective.

The Swede-Finn Ethnic Movement in Finland

Ethnic movements as a type of social movement begin with the articulation of a structural bind. This is most often a shared perception of injustice, i.e., a painful discrepancy between the "way it is" and the "way it should be." Following a period of more or less general discontent and unrest, movements pass through a somewhat disorganized popular state and, if successful in securing adherents and resources, they develop leadership, ideology, and organization, as well as slogans, symbols, and doctrine. The final stage is often institutionalization and a tendency toward oligarchy, a lessening of the we/they polarity, and maintenance of a new status quo.

The SF ethnic movement (i.e., SFEM) in Finland has offered, during the past half century or so, a clear example of this process, and especially of organizational development and goal displacement as the movement progressed. We should note, however, that because the SFEM adherents represented a high percentage of Finland's economic and social elite as well as all Swedish-speaking farmers and fishermen, it is clearly an atypical ethnic movement. With its superior resources, historical dominance, psychological advantage, and continuing, if diminished, political power, the movement presents a valuable "extreme case" of ethnic movement efforts to use education for defense and survival under extremely advantageous conditions.[9]

The rationale put forward by SFEM leaders for separate education is best viewed in terms of the movement's ideology and goals. I shall, accordingly, first examine the ideational counterparts of these observable phenomena as presented by movement intellectuals and then describe and assess educational contributions to the advancement of movement goals.

Although Sweden lost political control of Finland to Russia following the Napoleonic Wars, the Swedish-speaking elements, some 15 percent of the total population, continued to dominate the universities, the civil service, and economic and urban life.[10] Since the Early Middle Ages, Swedes occupied extensive coastal areas of western and southern Finland where the vast majority were free peasants and fishermen. The Finns, a non-Scandinavian people, came from the east and settled the interior forest regions. Contact between the two language-cultural groups took place largely through Swedish burghers who tended to dominate the few urban centers in the Finnish areas. Swedish was also the language of government and administration, of the courts and legal system, and of all higher education and intellectual life.

Although considerably isolated from the main currents of nineteenth-century romanticism and nationalism, a Finnish literary movement developed in the 1840s and 1850s. This group of young intellectuals drew on Hegelian philosophy and Finnish folk culture to advocate the creation of a national unity and a national culture based on exclusive use of the Finnish language. Although they wrote largely in Swedish, the young Finns rejected it as foreign and viewed Finnish as the natural means of expressing the spiritual unity of the nation.[11]

The Swedish upper-class response to intense Finnish nationalism was, to use a Swedish expression, a *kulturaristokratisk* policy. In the 1890s, for example, this small elite continued to dominate two of the four ruling Estates, i.e., the nobility and the burghers. Thus, the emerging Swedish movement at that time represented only Swedish upper-class interests in defending the historical position of the Swedish language and the Swedish cultural heritage as well as its own privileged status and rule in the country. The Swedish-speaking common folk of the town, countryside, and littoral found no place in this movement. Rather, they were only dimly realized reserves thought best left undisturbed by the raging culture conflict of the time.[12]

While Swedish elite perceptions of the Swedish lower class were paternalistic, the elite's attitude toward Finnish nationalists and their call for "one language-one mind" was hostile. Professor C.G. Estlander, a spokesman for the educated Swedish classes, defined this group's views in his 1884 newspaper article, "My Position on the Language Question."[13]

> What I want to emphasize is that my upbringing was thoroughly Swedish. I came into contact with Finns all the time. My playmates were sometimes Finns; the maids and the hired men were Finns. So I learned the Finnish language as well as the Swedish. But I never regarded it very highly. To me it was the language of the maids and the hired men—and of the peasants. It is hard to describe the curious attitude I had—and have—toward the Finns. I was very

> fond of some of them, and I was willing to use their language to a certain extent. Sometimes I even felt a passionate patriotism that included the Finns as well as the Swedes of my country. But all the time there was a feeling of superiority, that I belonged to a better race, and was different from them. As I grew older, this feeling was emphasized because of the Finnish attitude toward us Swedes. It became absolute contempt. By the time I left Finland I had no use at all for either the Finns or their language, because of their behavior politically. I felt they had betrayed the country.

By 1906, however, the constitutional campaign in opposition to mounting Russification, and the ensuing democratization, had ended Swedish political control. With Swedish control of legislation and the administration swept away and with intensifying Finnish nationalism overcoming all obstacles, the Swedish leaders, facing total defeat, sought a new basis on which to rebuild their cause.

This effort saw the creation of the Swedish People's party in May 1906, a largely successful effort to reject class divisions and to mobilize the entire SF population. The need to draw the indifferent and inarticulate Swedish masses into active participation in a Swedish nationality movement to secure their heightened perception of the ethnic-threat-survival bind has subsequently been the task of a variety of movement organizations down to the present day.

The movement thus has sought, especially before World War II, to include all Swedish-speaking Finns within an ethnic solidarity group where "we-they" distinctions will be heightened and maintained. This mobilization of ethnic identity became necessary to support the movement's ideological argument that there exists in Finland a political Finlandic nationality. This political nationality, or ethnicity, is claimed to be based on common historical traditions, a common government, and geographical unity. It includes the two cultural nationalities, i.e., the Swedish and Finnish, which are based primarily on language. The *Same*, or Lapps, and the gypsies comprise only about .02 percent of the total population. In this respect, the Swede-Finns maintain, Finland is a culturally pluralistic society like Switzerland, Belgium, or Great Britain. They view Finland as a "state of rights" *(Rättsstat)* where rights and relationships are established by law, rather than a population organized primarily on the primacy of language. They argue that both nationalities in Finland have existed side by side since the beginning of Finland's history. Both have contributed to its development. With independence and the constitution of 1919, both Swedish and Finnish are accorded the legal status of national languages. With this crucial legal equality of Swedish as a national language, the SFEM has aggressively pursued a policy of separatism and cultural autonomy. This has included demands for civil service appointments on the basis of merit and not ethnic affiliation, and state aid for cultural and educational institutions of both nationalities in accordance with identical principles. Equally important, the SF movement secured control of separate

Swedish-language schools, and with generous support from wealthy Swede-Finn industrialists, the movement has created a number of nonformal educational institutions and cultural foundations. It is to these movement education programs that we now turn.

Organization of Swedish Ethnicity in the Struggle to Survive

The attempt to counter Finnish nationalism with a mobilization of the entire SF population required the creation of a variety of new or adapted ethnic movement organizations. The first Swedish cultural organization in Finland, the Friends of the Swedish Public School Society. founded in 1882, became more widespread and overtly concerned with the survival of Swedish ethnicity. Its work was done not only in the Swedish districts, but in support of educationally disadvantaged Swedish minorities in Finnish communes as well.

With the establishment of a special Swedish Department in the Central Bureau of Schools in April 1920, Finnish and Swedish schools were put in an equal legal position. Since then Swede-Finns have maintained considerable autonomy in the running of the Swedish-language elementary and secondary schools.[14] The extent of this autonomy stands in notable contrast to the strong and persistent efforts of Swedish educational authorities to acculturate and assimilate the Finnish minority in northern Sweden.[15]

With the legal provision of Swedish control of Swedish elementary and secondary schools in Finland, however, the struggle for self-determination and autonomy increasingly took place in the national university and through the SFEM-controlled folk high schools.

During the 1920s and 1930s Finnish university students in league with the Agrarian party battled to secure "the Finnification of the University of Helsinki." They complained that the continuing predominance of a Swedish faculty and extensive instruction in Swedish placed an intolerable burden on Finnish students. Moreover, they claimed that the disproportionately large size of the Swedish-speaking educated class and numerous Swedish secondary schools caused an overproduction of Swedish-speaking university students in comparison to the total Swede-Finn population.

In this bitter conflict the Swede-Finns were able to continue a bilingual policy at the University of Helsinki—there are still some twenty-five SF professors teaching in Swedish—and in addition they secured a government-supported Swedish-language university, the Abo Academy in the Swedish west coast heartland.

With the advent of state-supported compulsory schooling, the Friends of the Swedish Public School Society, in their work for everything Swedish, shifted their support and initiated a great number of other largely nonformal and informal educational activities. Chief among these have been their SF folk high schools, the publication of popular literature, and the founding of popular libraries, the provision of popular lectures, and, to great effect, the organization of the Swedish singing and music festivals. Since 1941 this work has been supported by the more comprehensive SF movement organization, the Swedish Finland's Folkting. This SF people's congress of elected representatives meets every other year and maintains permanent and active sections on cultural policy, social policy, economic policy and information, and constitutional matters. The Folkting forcefully represents interests of the SF population. It coordinates provision of social and cultural services and serves as a forum for debate and information within the movement and between the movement and its larger national, regional, and international contexts.

We will now take note of two especially effective ethnic education programs, the folk high schools and music festivals. Where the earlier Swedish class movement used its monopoly of the national university to maintain its privilege, the broader Swedish ethnic movement has been more directly served by the Swedish-language folk high schools. These residential schools offer courses in practical subjects and domestic concerns. They offer opportunities for continuing education in a Swedish ethnic context, and they have "served as sources and centers of the ideology and sentiments of the Swedish nationality movement."[16]

The first Swedish folk high schools were founded by the Swedish youth movement in 1889. This group of students, without parallel in Scandinavia, sought to advance popular and civic education in rural areas and mixed districts so as to promote the Swedish language and culture. By 1910 fourteen Swedish folk high schools with over four hundred students continued the youth movement's work to create in young Swede-Finns a desire to be Swedish in mind and language and to actively support the aims and organized efforts of the whole Swedish ethnic movement.

Although SF folk high schools continue to serve the rural and small-town population, the extension of compulsory education and the near disappearance of culture conflict in the post-World War II era has meant that they must now seek a new role in providing adult education. The ratio of autonomous SF movement folk high schools to the Swedish population in different regions (1971) remains impressive, however. It is presented in Table 7.2.

The SF singing and music festivals have sought more directly to develop consciousness of ethnic identity and group solidarity. Swedish-speaking Finns had participated in bilingual singing and music festivals on a large scale until they became dominated by *Fennoman,* or Finnish Nationalism Movement, members who used them as occasions for *Fennoman* propaganda. After 1891, separate Swedish music festivals were held yearly, reaching their peak with the culmination of the culture conflict in the 1930s. On Midsummer Day in 1932, for example, some three thousand youth from Swedish areas gathered in Helsingfors to sing traditional Swedish and SF songs and unite rural and urban Swedes in a sense of ethnic community and movement consensus.

Since then, and to a much lesser extent, SF music festivals have taken place at the local or provincial level. They are supported—along with amateur

TABLE 7.2

Ratio of Autonomous Swede-Finn Movement Folk High Schools to Swedish Population

Region	Swedish Population	Number of FHS	FHS/Swedish Population
Östra Nyland	38,000	2	19,000
Mellersta Nyland	85,000	1	85,000
Västra Nyland	39,000	2	19,500
Nyland (Total)	162,000	5	32,400
Aboland	30,000	2	15,000
Aland	20,000	1	20,000
Södra Österbotten	17,000	2	8,500
Mellersta Österbotten	46,000	3	15,300
Norra Österbotten	42,000	2	21,000
Österbotten (Total)	105,000	7	15,000
Grand Total	330,000	15	22,000

Source: Svenska Kulturfonden, *Från grundskola till vexenutbildning i finlandssvenskt perspektiv* (Helsingfors: Holger Schildts Forlag, 1974), p. 16.

theater and literary activities—by a number of young peoples' societies and choruses where winter rehearsals are an important social activity. Moreover, related SF cultural organizations concerned with folk culture and social welfare use the summer music festivals as occasions to meet and discuss their work and concerns.

The Swede-Finns continue to surpass national educational norms, especially those SF youth who live in towns and regional urban centers. Among the rural population, the relative educational advantage of the Swede-Finns is slight or nonexistent. In Table 7.3 the continuing high priority that urban Swede-Finns give formal schooling is apparent.

We do have comparable data on languages of folk high school pupils, the number of schools related to the respective languages, and the proportion of Finnish and Swedish language in the general population as presented in Table 7.4.

Here we see, for the year 1963-1964, enrollment in SF folk high schools 1.88 times greater than the percent of Swede-Finns in the total population. In the number of schools, there were 2.8 times as many SF folk high schools in Finland that would be a simple representation according to language spoken in the country. This disproportionate participation of the SF minority in all sectors of the national educational complex continues, but at a rapidly declining figure with the Grundskola reforms and increasing educational participation among the Finnish-speaking population.

TABLE 7.3

Educational Levels of Language Groups in Finland, 1970

	Middle School Exam		*Higher Secondary Exam*	
By Location	*Total*	*Over 14 yrs.*	Total	Over 14 yrs.
National population	8.8%	11.6%	5.4%	7.1%
SF population only	13.6%	16.9%	8.9%	11.0%
Large Towns and Cities	11.4%	14.9%	7.9%	10.3%
SF population only	19.6%	23.9%	14.5%	17.6%
Rural and Villages	6.0%	8.1%	2.7%	3.6%
SF population only	7.0%	8.8%	2.7%	3.4%

Source: Svenska Finlands Folkting, *Svenskt i Finland* (Helsingfors: The Folkting, 1973).

Evaluation: Educational Contributions to the Swedish Ethnic Movement

This chapter has briefly examined a little-known example of ethnic movement education that might be best described, using the typology presented, as *defensive*. As such, it would fit in the lower right of Table 7.1 along with other ethnic groups seeking to maintain ethnic boundaries and solidarity.

While a variety of educational programs have clearly helped to mobilize SF ethnic identity and reinforce ethnic consciousness, other favorable factors have been more central in securing the conditions favorable to Swedish ethnic survival. Here we must mention the great economic and intellectual resources of the Swedish population, the effective parliamentary strategy of the Swedish People's Political party after 1906, the continued SF control of large areas of productive agricultural land, and the land-defense organizations that brought and kept land in SF areas under SF ownership. Equally noteworthy have been the Swedish cooperatives, agricultural societies, banks, rural credit and insurance companies, and, not least, the cultural foundations. The above indicate something of the penetration of ethnic or nationality sentiments into the field of economic and financial activities, efforts that have successfully provided the funds necessary to support the movement's educational work in popular education, folk high schools, cultural activities, and in the media.

The Swedes in Finland have also been increasingly active in organizations representing the Nordic community. As they are bilingual and because many Finns are reluctant to speak Swedish, Swede-Finns are advantageously placed for jobs and influence in Nordic agencies, committees, and the like.

Swedish ethnic nonformal education activities have, perhaps, contributed most directly to movement goals through their efforts to create a common ethnic identity that included both the upper class and the masses.[18] By the 1930s this key objective had been won. Educational efforts were equally

TABLE 7.4

Folk High School Enrollments
by Language Group in Finland, 1960-1964

		Finnish		*Swedish*		*Total*	
Years	*Item*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
1960	Language		92.4		7.4		99.8*
1960-61	Enrollment	5,583	88.8	701	11.2	6,284	100.0
1963-64	Enrollment	5,076	86.1	882	13.9	5,898	100.0
1966-67	Enrollment	5,320	89.8	713	10.2		
1963-64	Schools	65	79.0	17	21.0	82	100.0

*Other=0.2 percent.

Sources: Heikki Ilmari Leskinen, "A Critical Appraisal of Selected Finnish Folk High Schools" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University 1968); and Dean Gordon Larson, "A Comparison of the Spread of the Folk High School Idea in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1970).

successful in securing the obverse of this mutual recognition, i.e., the sense of being different from Finns. As we have noted, upper-class Swedes shared, by and large, attitudes of superiority over the Finns, who were largely laborers and peasants. Swedish independent peasants, in contrast, rarely came in contact with Finns of their own class. Ethnic consciousness among this group only developed with a threat to cultural survival and a systematic educational effort to articulate this bind and teach how collective efforts might ease it.[19]

Since World War II, the Swedish-speaking population has continued to decline in numbers and influence. Their separatist policy has clearly served to defend ethnicity, but at the same time it has limited opportunities to gain influence at the national level. Increased contact between the two cultural groups resulting from resettlement of Finnish refugees and postwar reconstruction and the increased economic power and legitimacy of Finnish nationalism has meant increased intermarriage and the rejection of Swedish culture for a national identity by a relatively small but growing number of young Swede-Finns. With lack of pressure for assimilation from Finnish nationalists, the bind experienced by older Swede-Finns has lost nearly all meaning for the younger generations. And with the disappearance of culture conflict, the SFEM organizations have been gradually transformed into service organizations that find their reason for existence in the maintence of a new status quo. While the Swede-Finn population remains at 303,406, or a bit less than it was a century ago, the SF percentage of the total population had declined to some 6.5 percent in 1970. Recent research indicates that this decline in the Swedish-speaking population—the loss was 17.7 percent from 1950 to 1960 and 27.1 percent from 1960 to 1970—resulted in large part from language shift among SF youth in late adolescence and early adulthood (see Table 7.5) and more recently from S/F emigration to Sweden.[20] It further suggests that important factors influencing language shift from Swedish to Finnish were the experiences of secondary education, labor, market entry, and the selection of a marriage partner.[21]

TABLE 7.5

Language Shift in Finland

Year	*Percent of Swedish Speakers*
1610	17.5 (estimated)
1749	16.3 (estimated)
1855	14.2
1900	12.9
1970	6.5

Source: de Vries (1974): p. 148.

As the minority of Swedish speakers declines in absolute numbers as well as in proportion to the total population, the Finnish nationalists stand to gain by a policy of tolerance for ethnic pluralism and support for increased bilingualism what they have been unable to gain by force in nearly a century of struggle and culture conflict.

In conclusion, the Swede-Finn case might also be viewed as an instructive example of what Bronfenbrenner[22] calls a "transforming experiment," or "an experiment that radically restructures the environment producing a new configuration that activates previously unrealized behavioral potentialities in the subject." Where most anthropological study of ethnic education has viewed the ecological contexts of such efforts as sociological givens, a "transforming experiment" or social movement approach would view ethnic relations with mobilization as subject to significant and novel transformation. Where we have in the past focused our research on the ethnicity-education nexus as it exists with system elements that make up the status quo, we will also need to examine how education in conflict situations contributes to ethnic movement attempts to secure and defend "a restructuring of established institutional forms and values."

NOTES

1. See John W. Bennett, ed., *The New Ethnicity: Perspectives from Ethnology,* 1973 *Proceedings* of the American Ethnological Society (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1974); Leo A. Despres, ed., *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975); and Randall Collins, Review of *Schooling in Capitalist America: Economic Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Harvard Educational Review* 46 (May 1976):246-51.

2. Rolf Kjolseth, "Bilingual Education Programs in the United States: For Assimilation or Pluralism?" in *The Language Education of Minority Children,* ed. Bernard Spolsky (Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1972), pp. 94-121.

3. Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer, *Bilingual Schooling in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970); Nancy Seifer, *Education and the New Pluralism: A Preliminary Survey of Recent Progress in the Fifty States* (New York: American Jewish Congress, 1973); and Richard Gambino, "A Guide to Ethnic Studies Programs in American Colleges, Universities and Schools" (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1975, Working Papers).

4. See Thomas A. Johnson, "When Blacks Run the Schools," *New York Times,* November 14, 1976, p. 16; and W. Elwood Smith and Douglas E. Foley, "Mexicano Resistance to Schooling in a South Texas Colony," *Education and Urban Society* 10 (1978):145-76.

5. See Barbara Sizemore, "Is There a Case for Separate Schools? The Answer is YES, Because We Are at that Stage in America's Race Revolution," *Phi Delta Kappan* 53 (1972):281-84.

6. See Edward Dozier, "Resistance to Acculturation and Assimilation in an Indian Pueblo," *American Anthropologist* 53 (1951):56-66; Clyde Thomas Gray, "American Indian Education: Cultural Pluralism or Assimilation?" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1975); John A. Hostetler and Gertrude E. Huntington, *Children in Amish Society: Socialization and Community Education* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); John A. Hostetler, "Amish Schooling: A Study in Alternatives," *Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter* 3 (1972): 1-4; Jan-Magnus Jansson, "Kulturpolitik och samhällsomdaning," in *Kultur i omdaning: Rapport från finlandssvenska kulturkonferensen, 20-21, November 1965* (Helsingfors:

Svenska Kulturfonden, 1966), pp. 7-12; Marilyn McArthur, "The Saxon Germans: Political Fate of an Ethnic Identity," *Dialectical Anthropology* 1 (1976):349-64; P. Y. Medding, *From Assimilation to Group Survival* (Melbourne: F. W. Cheschire, 1963); Enok Mortensen, *The Danish Lutheran Church in America* (Philadelphia: Board of Publications, Lutheran Church in America, 1967); National Indian Brotherhood, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (Ottawa: The Brotherhood, 1972); Ibrahim Shalaby and John Chilcott, *The Education of a Black Muslim* (Tucson: Impresora Sahuaro, 1972); John Kenneth Smith, "Jewish Education in Colombia: Group Survival vs. Assimilation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1972); Janice J. Weinman, "Local Control over Formal Education in Two American-Indian Communities: A Preliminary Step Toward Cultural Survival," *Review of Educational Research* 42 (1972):533-39; and Louis Wirth, "Education for Survival," *American Journal of Sociology* 48 (1943):682-91.

7. See Major A. Mason, *The Educational Programs and Activities of the Black Panther Party* (Pittsburgh: International and Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1976); James Mecarelli and Steven Severin, *Protest: Red, Black, Brown Experience in America* (Detroit: W. B. Eerdmans, 1975); Deidre Lejeune, *Power Through Organization* (Pittsburgh: International School of Graduate and Public Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, 1976); and Rolland G. Paulston, "Ethnicity and Educational Change: A Priority for Comparative Studies," *Comparative Education Review* 20 (1976):269-77.

8. See McArthur, "Saxon Germans."

9. See Anders Mattson Myhrman, *The Swedish Nationality Movement in Finland* (Chicago: Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1937; part of a dissertation).

10. John H. Wuorinen, *Nationalism in Modern Finland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

11. Pekka Kalevi Hämäläinen, "The Nationality Struggle Between the Finns and the Swedish-Speaking Minority in Finland, 1917-1939" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1966).

12. Artur Eklund, *Ras, Kultur, Politik, Svenskt i Finland: Ställning ock Strävande* (Helsingfors: Ekenas, 1914).

13. Quoted in Myhrman, *Swedish Nationality Movement in Finland*, p. 59.

14. Hämäläinen, "Nationality Struggle," p. 204.

15. See Jorma Kuusela, *Finnar i Sverige: En Studie av Assimilation och Anpassning* (Stockholm: Sociology Department, University of Stockholm, 1973); and David Schwarz, "Finsk eller svensk? Invandrare och Minoriteter" *Scandinavian Migration and Ethnic Minority Review* 3 (1976):4-17.

16. Myhrman, *Swedish Nationality Movement in Finland*, p. 100.

17. Levi Ulfvens, "De finlandssvenska folkhögskolornas framtid," in *Folkhögskolan inför framtiden* (Helsingfors: Svenska Kulturfonden, 1972), pp. 43-47; and Svenska Kulturfonden, *Frän grundskola till vuxenutbildning i finlandssvenskt perpektiv.*

18. R. A. Wrede, Svenskheten i Finland och medien för dess bevarande (Helsingfors: Ekenäs, 1926).

19. Axel Lille, "Finsk folkhögskola: Antligen," *Dagens Nyheter*, October 14, 1921, p. 40.

20. Erik Bagerstam, "Finlandssvenekarna-Ingen," *Invandrare och Minoriteter-Scandinavian Migration and Ethnic Minority Review* 4 (1977):23-27.

21. See John deVries, "Net Effects of Language Shift in Finland, 1951-1960," *Acta Sociologica* 17 (1974):140-49.

22. Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Experimental Ecology of Education," *Educational Researcher* 5 (1976):5-15, p. 14.

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The *Same* (Lapp) Ethnic Revival Movement*

R. G. Paulston

This chapter examines the changing ethnic context of educational programs for Swedish *Same,* or Lapps, and seeks to draw implications for theory and research on education and ethnic revival processes. The work addresses two basic concerns. The first is the need to view education as a policy indicator concerning national attempts to foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups.[1] The second is to examine under what conditions ethnic revival movements are led to innovate alternative educational programs in efforts seeking new collective identity and social relations.[2]

Before examination of the case study data from field work at the Jokkmokk Folk High School in Lapland during 1974, it may be helpful to define key terms that appear throughout the work. *Ethnicity* is viewed as a process by which people call attention to cultural differences that may be either attributed, self-proclaimed, or both. It is a process of categorization that can be strategically employed by members of groups or by outsiders.

Accordingly, ethnic groups are viewed as collectivities or "social groups" that have real or putative common ancestry, shared memories of a historical past, and a cultural focus on such generally shared symbolic elements as kinship patterns, physical continuity (as in localism or regionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, phenotypical features, etc., in various combinations.[3] *Culture* is taken to mean a set of symbols in the minds of actors, symbol sets that serve to define the world, provide cognitive categories, and interpret experience.[4]

Ideology, in contrast, transforms fundamental beliefs from the passive, cognitive level to the behavioral level. It therefore sanctifies behavior in concrete situations with the same moral superiority attributed to fundamental beliefs. Thus, ideology serves to bind cognition, values, and behavior for particular groups of people requiring some collective response to altered circumstances.[5]

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The terms *superordinate,* or *dominant* groups, and *subordinate,* or *minority* groups, are used throughout and also require some discussion. If we typologize social groups by characteristics of size and power, the following paradigm may be presented as in Table 8.1[6]

TABLE 8.1

Paradigm of Social Groups

	Size	*Power*	
Dominant Groups			
Group A	+	+	= Majority group
Group B	—	+	= Elite
Subordinate Groups			
Group C	+	—	= Mass subjects
Group D	—	—	= Minority group

The Lapps—or as they call themselves, the *Same*—are a D-type minority group while the Swedish "majority" is of the A type. Although I will use the terms *minority* and *ethnic* groups interchangeably, they are perhaps best differentiated with regard to the dominant groups. The basic model for a majority-minority situation would accordingly be one in which a dominant social subgroup prevents or restrains a lower-ranking subgroup from advancing to comparable status.[7] When writing of the "situation," minority and majority are viewed as abstract categories, while for explanation of actions, one must seek out "groups." Thus minorities are part of the categorization of a polity, while ethnic groups are elements of a political organization.

Educational change may be viewed as alterations in the structural relationships embedded in educational programs and between educational programs and other sectors as well as shifts in the ideologies upon which educational programs and systems are constructed, operated, and legitimated.

Using these concepts, I shall adapt Schermerhorn's typology of dominant-subordinate group relations to provide an analysis of relationships between educational policy, the changing socioeconomic system, and the conditions of ethnic integration and conflict. It should be noted that *integration* is used here in a broad, generic sense. It is viewed not as an end-state, as in minority integration in the United States during the 1960s, but rather as a process directed by the dominant sector "whereby units or elements of a society are brought into an active or coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group in that society."[8] This initial section will briefly review the overtly colonial phase of Lapp education from the seventeenth century up to the post-World War II period. In the second section, I shall examine the *Same* ethnic-revival movement and *Same* efforts to raise ethnic consciousness, increase the educational success of *Same* youth in communal schools, and, more specifically, gain control of the Lapp Folk High School at Jokkmokk and innovate an alternative educational program where *Same* ethnic revival ideology would shape problem definitions, curriculum, and action strategies.

Wirt had adapted Schermerhorn's work to facilitate a comparison of the ethnic-political school system policy contexts of four Western European states. He uses, as illustrated in Table 8.2, the following four types: (1) Assimilation—the Welsh and Scots in the United Kingdom; (2) Socialized Isolates—the Lapps in Sweden; (3) Cultural Pluralism—Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands; and (4) Colonialism—the "Colored" immigrants in the United Kingdom.[9]

TABLE 8.2

Typology of Minority Socialization
and Policy of Structural Participation*

Minority Acceptance of Dominant Value System	*Structural Participation Policy*	
	Enfold	Isolate
High	A Assimilation	B Socialized Isolates
Low	C Cultural Pluralism	D Colonialism

*See Wirt (1974).

Schermerhorn proposes that socialized isolates are exemplified by American blacks between the Civil War and the civil rights movement, the Ainu of Japan, the Australian aborigines, the Lapps in Northern Europe, and Native Americans. These groups have been "integrated," to use Schermerhorn's definition, into society through authority decisions seeking to sustain the controlling value system and allocation of rewards in society. Such enfolded minorities are socialized to know and respond to majority cultural values, including superordinate notions of racial and religious superiority, status values of acquisition, and inferiority of "native" culture.[10] Public policy and schooling seek to eliminate destructive aspects of isolated non-European cultures, though aspects of minority culture may be tolerated if they do not conflict with significant dominant values, and as with reindeer-herding culture, if they produce important benefits for the national economy. Socialized isolates, as the *Same,* have little or no opportunity to participate as decision-makers in community and regional social institutions such as schools and planning boards, where decisions frequently have powerful effects on their political, social, and economic conditions.[11]

For centuries, Swedish government policy for Lapp education has supported type D and B relationships (i.e., colonized and socialized isolates) where reindeer-herding Lapps received minimal education and their participation in mainstream schooling and other social institutions was discouraged.[12] Within the past several decades, this policy has shifted with efforts to move toward a type A educational program that seeks more efficient assimilation through technically innovative bicultural education.[13] Recent Swedish government efforts to aggressively push for assimilation of Lapp youth and the Lapp minority have been oppposed by a growing *Same* ethnic revival movement seeking to resist acculturation and instead strengthen core symbolic elements of *Same* culture.[14] The movement's efforts to effect educational change in existing schools and to create alternative educational programs reflecting movement ideology conflict markedly with the traditional mode of ethnic integration. It is indeed far from certain that Lapps will be able to revive their culture and strengthen ethnic solidarity. Their strategy is to minimize acceptance of majority beliefs and to maximixe participation as Lapps in decisional mechanisms of Swedish society so as to move to a type C form of "cultural pluralism." This effort, as we shall see in the following section, breaks sharply with past and existing educational policy and calls for innovative and alternative educational programs to help *Same* negotiate new identities and alter social relations with the dominant group.[15]

Schooling and Same *Integration Before World War II*

It nay be helpful at this point to briefly note some salient characteristics of the *Same* people. They are few in number and comprise only a very small percentage of the total population in countries where they reside: i.e., .07 percent in Finland; .45 percent in Norway; .13 percent in Sweden; and some two thousand in the USSR. Their number is near forty thousand, and it is growing as never before. They are Europe's most northerly minority and have since prehistoric times occupied the subarctic forests and the windswept open tundra and highlands, or *Lappmark,* of far-northern Europe. There they have lived as Reindeer Lapps, or Mountain Lapps, Forest Lapps, and Sea Lapps, since the Middle Ages and the beginnings of Swedish colonization of the *Lappmark* and its people.[16]

Official government relations with the Lapps began with the *Lappmark* edict of 1673 which sought to open the Lapps' traditional homeland to Swedish settlers and the state church. This document promulgated a policy of minority integration, along with descriptions of stereotypical minority attributes, that has continued in large part down to the present day.[17] It states that:

1. Lapps should devote themselves to reindeer breeding in the mountain areas, a task for which they are best suited.
2. Swedish settlers should have the right to take land from the Forest Lapps, to hunt and fish on Lapp lands, and to burn and clear Lapp land.
3. The Lapps are a barbaric people from elsewhere without legal title to the land they use. They are lazy and useless in war.

In the following centuries, two themes pervaded ethnic relations. The dominant theme called for Lapps to withdraw before the advance of Western economic penetration. Lapps might indeed join this advance by rejecting their language and other core cultural traditions and becoming Swedes.

The second and lesser theme, that the Lapp minority should be preserved and protected, largely through paternalistic efforts of the Swedish state church, became increasingly important in the nineteenth century as traditional Lapp nomad society disintegrated under the onslaught of expanding Scandinavian societies. With a cultural revitalization movement led by the minister Lars Laestadius, the ensuing strengthening of social responsibility, and the increased value of reindeer herding in the national economy, educational policy for the Lapps shifted emphasis from acculturation to socialized isolation.[18] By about World War I, what might be called the "conservationist" ideology had gained predominance and became embodied in the Norma School Reform of 1913. The act's rationale, both economic and educational, is clearly apparent in the position stated by the Bishop of Lulea, a leader of the school reform and the religious head of the *Lappmark:*[19] "Lapps lack the physical attributes necessary for regular, heavy manual labor and therefore fall into deep poverty and misery when they adopt a settled way of life. If, on the other hand, they continue with reindeer breeding, they can count upon a secure source of livelihood. It is, accordingly, of national economic interest that the Lapps retain their inherited source of livelihood." The vast tundra and mountain areas of northern Scandinavia could at that time be most economically exploited as pasture for reindeer, and herding required that the Lapps live a nomadic existence. Thus, the question of "What is an appropriate education for Lapp children?" became clearly linked to the importance of reindeer breeding for the national economy. Or as stated in the 1913 school reform, "a Lapp shall be a Lapp, for then he serves his motherland best." Swedish educational policy continued, especially with the 1928 Reindeer Pasture Act, wherever possible to keep the Lapp children within Lapp culture and the nomadic economy.[20]

Following World War II the conservationist policy came under heavy attack from Lapps seeking greater educational opportunity, and from the Swedish government, which had replaced the church in the control of Lapp schooling. The Swedish Missionary Society's educational efforts then focused almost entirely on the Lapp Folk High School founded during World War II (1942) and located above the Arctic Circle at Jokkmokk after 1945. In this residential folk college, youth in their late teens received training in general citizenship, local and national history, reindeer breeding, and other practical subjects. Continuing the "Lapp will be Lapp" orientation, students were encouraged not to let the two-year course seduce them away from reindeer herding. A policy statement at that time, for example, stressed that: "Not by following Sweden and things Swedish, but by promoting your mother tongue will you best be fitted to contribute to the common treasures of the fatherland. As Lapps, it is through following your own ways of living and by remaining faithful to your culture that you will keep your place as part of the Swedish nation."[21]

Many young Lapps leaving the Lapp Folk High School returned to the herding way of life, and a number became leaders in subsequent ethnic organizational development, as in the Swedish Reindeer Herders' Association, founded in 1950. Others became schoolteachers and taught *Same* children in settled communities and in nomad schools. A third very small group moved into mainstream Swedish society and culture through subsequent professional training. But a number of these assimilated Lapps maintained feelings of ethnic solidarity with their *Same* origins and a concern for greater justice in *Same* attempts to fend off powerful state and private interests seeking the continued economic exploitation of Lapland's rich natural wealth of minerals, timber, water, and scenery.[22]

Thus, by the 1950s Swedish authorities offered two distinct educational programs for *Same* children. For those who lived by reindeer herding, the nomad schools, which had become fixed and residential, continued to stress skills and values thought necessary for a nomadic life. For children of the growing number of *Same* employed in forestry, agriculture, and fishing, regular primary and, less frequently, secondary schools were built in rural areas—schools taught entirely in Swedish and attended by Swedish youth, schools where the Lapp language and culture were viewed as inferior, and where Lapp ethnic identity was undesirable and, when possible, to be denied. School failure of Lapp children was and is commmon. In their public school experiences, generations of *Same* youth have learned that being a Lapp and speaking Lappish is strongly associated with defeat, contempt, and poverty.[23]

With increasing pressure from the Swedish Social Democratic government for the accultuation and outmigration of *Same* youth and with continued serious infringement of forest and pasture land by "clear-cutting" forestry practices, tourism, and mining and waterpower development interests, the Lapps, a distinct people with thousands of years of traditions as an ethnic community, began to seriously doubt their ability to survive in the early 1950s.[24]

The Same *Ethnic Revival Movement*

Over the centuries, the Lapp minority in northern Scandinavia has been divided by cultural differences between settled and nomadic groups, and by language differences between the southern and northern Lappish dialects. They live today in areas of very low population density among one million Scandinavians and Finns. Lapps have traditionally lived in isolated communities with little unity or organization.[25] Although converted to Christianity, their isolation and marginality have served rather effectively to protect their ethnic identity. Lapp isolation has also been strengthened by government "enclosure" policy and by the fact that they live and work in societies where they represent "deviant" cultural traditions with "deviant" values and institutions.[26] Although Lapps are formally integrated into a single system of political and economic institutions in each Nordic state, their culture and values are not viewed as qualifying the members of the nondominant segment to play roles which are unambiguously reserved to the domainant or Western European segment.27

Eidheim has given the name *plurification* to the numerous microprocesses that at any time articulate the cultural and institutional discontinuities in plural society and serve to perpetuate the dual context of plural orders when members of the nondominant segment attempt to play roles reserved to the dominant segment.

The type of plurification process that articulates sanctions on role mixing, for example, might be viewed as a cost mechanism that operates when individuals with *Same* cultural identity seek to assimilate into the Scandinavian or Western European way of life. As Lappishness is stigmatized as inferior by the dominant segment and sanctioned by ridicule, insults, and avoidance, *Same* who seek careers in the dominant society have traditionally been forced to renounce all *Same* roles. As the Lapp who seeks to change his cultural identity must also bear the cost of Lappish sanctions against those seeking incorporation, the totality of sanctions has a double price, a bimodel effect.

Until recently, upwardly mobile Lapps could avoid career defeat only by "paying" with their identity. One was either a Lapp, a Swede, a Norwegian, or a Finn. The few *Same* who achieved assimilation, or any *Same* for that matter, rarely protested this cost mechanism.[28] A few exceptions can be found, mostly among teachers or isolated individuals who by paying the price had come to know the ideal democratic ideology of the dominant segment, and by simple transfer had come to see the plurification process as an injustice to a cultural minority.[29] By attempting to point out what might be viewed as a moral injustice according to the dominant group ideology, they jeopardized their careers, were denounced as threats to national security by their superiors, and were generally viewed with alarm by Lapps who rightfully feared the consequences of such public role mixing. Most early Lapp critics of existing ethnic relations and internal colonization in Lapland were crushed. A few promoted such noncontroversial "minority activities" as folk arts and crafts in efforts to maintain *Same* identity while filling roles reserved to the dominant segment.

Following World War II a number of important changes occurred at the national and international levels. In particular, wartime efforts by Nazi Germany to exterminate the Jewish ethnic minority, and strong Scandinavian support for the United Nations' work on human rights, helped to bring the problem of ethnic survival home and to stimulate national debate on the rights and status of underprivileged minorities within the Scandinavian countries.[30] These new conditions favored the efforts of Lapp intellectuals, with support from individuals and institutions in the dominant segment, to create a *Same* ethnic movement. This coalition brought together for the first time those who identified with Lapp culture and sought to address serious economic and cultural problems resulting from the position of structured inequality that the *Same* had long occupied in the national society. Simultaneously, rapid economic growth and aggressive exploitation of natural resources in traditionally Lapp areas had seriously detrimental effects on the herding economy.[31] Accordingly, the dominant segement became more conscious of supposed injustices in the plurification system, and with support from influential professors, teachers, radical socialists, and others, *Same* ethnic activists gained a consensus of sorts as to a movement rationale and program.[32]

With general agreement that Lapps must continue as a cultural entity, that Lapp individuals, although culturally different, must be active and equal participants in a national plural society, the Lapps and their allies began to organize voluntary ethnic and solidarity associations. These new organizations sought the movement's three main goals: (1) to defend the Lapps' longstanding but much-infringed rights to land and water; (2) to make the school system more responsive to *Same* culture, and to the survival of the *Same* as an ethnic group; and (3) to secure the solidarity of all *Same* with the movement's legitimacy and broad goals.[33]

Something of the social disorganization, welfare dependence, discontent, and fear of ethnic disappearance that Lapps experienced in the early 1950s is evident in the following poem from that time by the Lapp poet Paulus Usti.[34] The poem also speaks to the widespread concern of older Lapps that schooling had come to encourage the "flight from all things Lappish." The unstated moral is that Lapp culture will survive only if youth remain true to the heritage, a moral implying the need for greater Lapp control of their children's education.[35]

WOUNDED RACE

There are deep wounds in the root,
Forces try to wither it.
The root feels chopped.

He who lives in the soil
Cannot defend himself against painful blows,
He merely feels that something is changed
In his wind-driven life.

But in the spring, when the snow still extends
Across the frozen ground in the north,
Then the new shoots
With the motive power of the Sun's warmth
Right through all resistance
Begin to force the tips of the branches
Toward the light.

The root's wounds
Do not heal quickly.
But he rejoices
When the wind tries the shoots.
Self-confidence and faith
Rise up, that their creative power
Will carry on the heritage.

Educational Innovation and Resistance to Acculturation

Since the 1950s the *Same* cultural revival movement has sought to mobilize minority identity through the creation of new organizations that embody the movement's ideology of survival and resistance to acculturation.[36] These Lapp voluntary associations include the Reindeer Herders' Association, the Society for *Same* Folk Arts, and the Nordic Lapp Council as well as a cultural society, *Same-Atnam* [The Lapp's Homeland, Society for the Future Development of the Lapps], a Lapp fraternal society that seeks to join the twenty-five hundred reindeer herders in some seven hundred households with the approximately eight thousand Lapps found largely in northern Sweden at various stages of assimilation into the dominant society. Several Lapp newspapers such as *Samefolket* [The Lapp People], and *Sameradio* [The Lapp Radio] have also been used to discuss problems facing Lapps and strategies for more effective Lapp participation in Swedish society as an ethnic group.

These groups in turn have brought pressure on institutions of the dominant society to respond favorably to Lapp demands for altered ethnic relations and a more culturally pluralistic society where *Same* cultural survival and *Same* participation will be accepted as legitimate national concerns. Lapp organzations in the past decade, for example, have called for a number of basic changes in the nine-year comprehensive school that most of their children attend. This reform program places priorities on bilingual instruction in

Lappish and Swedish during the early grades, the creation of bilingual teacher training programs, a revised curriculum including *Same* history and cultural themes, and a secondary school program especially adapted to the needs of reindeer-herding culture and management.

The conflict of interests that arises from intensifying government efforts to assimilate and incorporate the Lapps into the Swedish welfare state and from Lapp efforts to move toward a more autonomous situation in a more culturally pluralistic society are clearly evident in the schools. The Swedish educational system is highly centralized and, like Swedish society, powerfully seeks uniformity and conformity to collective norms.[37] But the Lapps, Scandinavian aborigines, speak an alien language related to Finnish and certain Siberian dialects. At the local level especially, *Same* are generally viewed as second-class citizens whose best interests will be served by rapid and complete assimilation. The Reindeer Herders' Association alone has legal recognition; ethnic minority organizations in Sweden are not recognized and therefore have no legal standing whatsoever.[38]

The National Board of Education's response to *Same* school reform requests is accordingly constrained by current national assimilationist policy. The expensive nomad schools enroll only some four hundred students and soon will be terminated. Between 1964 and 1971, the Board of Education spent about $250,000 to develop six textbooks in Lappish, but their use will depend on the success of proposed bilingual teacher education programs. Changes, in sum, have been incremental, small, and slow. *Same* students, despite recent special educational arrangements, continue as a group to be underachievers, withdrawn, and seemingly unable to succeed in national schools. A well-known Lapp educator, the Norwegian Anton Hoem, contends that the causes are to be found in competing and conflicting ideologies—i.e., those of the ethnic movement, and those of the national society:

> The investments in special teacher training, textbooks, and literature in Lappish, introduction of Lappish language and culture as subjects are efforts to raise the efficiency of teaching within the established system. They are not efforts to adapt the school to the particular needs and values of Lappish society. Therefore, one will find different values and norms in the school and the home, and different behavioral standards. In fact, the more efficient the teaching, the greater the discrepency between goals of education at home and in the school . . . . The main results are a cultural and social gap between the most successful pupils and the local Lapp society, and a barrier between losers and the nationwide system.[39]

Same movement activists have come to recognize that formal schooling, despite gestures toward bilingual instruction, is essentially about the business of assimilation and social control, and not the strengthening of cultural pluralism.[40] They have, accordingly, in the past few years sought to develop an alternative educational setting where movement ideology could be developed to shape goals, new learning, and action strategies. The Lapp Folk High School, a residential school for young adults at Jokkmokk in the Forest

Lapp area above the Arctic Circle, has begun to carry out this function but has become enmeshed in protracted conflict with the local Jokkmokk Commune authorities, who reject the legitimacy of "Lapp Power" slogans, the *Same* ethnic revival movement, and the emergence of a Lapp-controlled folk school.[41] Despite local pressures and forceful arguments by a number of commune leaders to change the school's name and orientation from the Lapp Folk High School to something like "Jokkmokk Commune Folk High School," a small core of *Same* activists have, during the past several years, used the school to develop an educational strategy seeking to mobilize individual *Same* into a politicized ethnic interest group.[42]

Although the *Same* remain a minority on the folk high school's board of directors and must share control with representatives of the provincial government and the antagonistic local commune, a number of notable innovations have been secured, albeit with growing animosity between Lapp students and the Swedish population both at Jokkmokk and throughout northern Sweden. Studies of how ethnic groups mobilize for political action suggest a number of basic problems that each group must solve.[43] These include questions about the distinctiveness of the group and the need for agreement on standards by which group members can judge themselves and others and determine who lies within the ethnic boundary, and who lies without. These concerns, as well as problems of commuication, decision-making, authority, and the legitimate use of power, ideology, discipline, and the indoctrination necessary to keep ideology alive have all been addressed by educational activities at the Lapp Folk High School. Before examining these activities, it may be useful to note that ethnicity has previously been viewed here as a phenomenon useful in the categorization of people. At the folk school, ethnicity has also been a tool employed strategically by movement activists seeking to assist *Same* youth to negotiate new individual identities and commitments to struggle as well as the learning of organizational and communications skills needed to advance the movement's manifest goals of *Same* cultural revival and ethnic minority survival.

Where the Swedish Missionary Society used the Lapp Folk High School during the 1940s and 1950s to further the national ethnic policy of socialized isolation, today Lapp activists fight to gain complete control of the school and use it to address their problems and dreams of survival as an ethnic minority in a pluralistic society. Where earlier many of the Reindeer Herders' Association leaders had their first training in formal organizational life and social science at the school, today special courses are offered that focus on problems of collective action and minority mobilization. These critical seminars are taught and attended by Lapps of different socioeconomic backgrounds and their objective is to unify the Lapps as an ethnic group. Lapps from the mountains, the forests, and the cities with differing professions and lifestyles meet, discuss, and develop movement ideology and action strategies to strengthen ethnic identification and to gain greater acceptance from a strongly ethnocentric Swedish society.

Courses in the Lapp language are also provided and related to the movement's literary and journalistic activities. Classes in Lapp history and handicrafts, reindeer management, and administrative techniques all view *Same* culture from perspectives that seek to raise students' consciousness of ethnic membership and the legitimacy of the group's dreams of survival and autonomy. The critical seminars especially have frequently been starting points for reformulating the movement's ideological framework, i.e., the "world view" from which most Lapp political actions follow. The joint Nordic Lapp Culture Policy Statement of 1970 entitled, in English, "We are Lapps and Want to Remain Lapps" clearly indicates efforts to state the movement's argument and goals.[44] It is also a document that owes much to the educational and political work of *Same* movement activists and supporters at the Lapp Folk High School.

The Lapp Folk High School today presents an example of an ethnic movement educational institution actively attempting to advance a process of ethnic revival, confrontation, and resistance to acculturation that is for the most part viewed unfavorably by members of the dominant society. At the local level, many Swedes press for rapid acculturation and incorporation through, if necessary, forced assimilation. At the national level, assimilation is sought instead through a policy of "tvåkulturell utbildning" or bicultural education, where Swedish and *Same* studies will supposedly be given equal value and emphasis.[45] So far, *Same* activists have been largely able to subvert the former policy at Jokkmokk and stress the latter. But as this tolerant situation may end at any time, the ethnic movement is pressing for a state-supported rural folk high school under complete *Same* movement control.[46] The Social Democratic government, however, has refused to subsidize a Lapp Folk High School under the control of movement activists. Ironically, the earlier willingness of Conservative and Liberal governments to subsidize the Swedish labor movement folk high school at Brunnsvik after 1906 helped greatly to bring the mass labor-folk movement to power and to provide it, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, with effective leadership. While the Socialists may wish to avoid the mistakes of their earlier political adversaries, it would seem that their ideology of economic social class conflict is ill-suited to understand, let alone accept, the ideology of political ethnicity and cultural pluralism used by the *Same* movement.

While most Lapps are sympathetic to the movement's broad goals, many express concern about the possible consequences of conflict. One of their older leaders has put it well: "We are not a warlike people and we don't fight. Our culture is primitive, and I suppose we have to give in to the stronger one." Many younger Lapps reject the resignation of their elders and, under the rubric of "Lapp Power," seek to fight back: "We are not Norwegians, Swedes, or Finns. We are different and we intend to stay that way." It is this small activist group which seeks to make the Lapp Folk High School its own, much to the consternation of many fearful Lapps, the Jokkmokk commune, and the National Board of Education.[47]

Conclusions

The Lappish movement's largely unsuccessful efforts to institutionalize revivalist ideology at the Jokkmokk Folk High School presents a noteworthy example of the constraints on the creation of alternative educational programs controlled by ethnic movements. The *Same* case, along with the occurrence of closely comparable ethnic revival movements and consequent attempts to innovate new educational programs as resistance to acculturation among indigenous people and regional ethnic groups in Western Europe, Canada, and the United States, presents rich opportunities for comparative studies on the little examined but increasingly important phenomenon of education in ethnic revival movement.[48] Although such educational innovations may have only limited potential to advance manifest movement goals, they are nevertheless often highly valued by movement adherents as alternatives to schooling dominated by the superordinate ideology. They are, moreover, of considerable interest to scholars seeking to ascertain under what conditions education can contribute to ideological and social change efforts in liberal-democreatic societies.

NOTES

1. See R. A. Schermerhorn's valuable work, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework For Theory and Research* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 14.

2. Given the proliferation of alternative education programs embedded in collective change efforts, this long neglected question merits greater study. See, for example, R. Paulston and G. LeRoy, "Strategies for Non-Formal Education," *Teachers College Record* 76 (May 1975):569-96; and R. Paulston, *Folk Schools and Social Change* (Pittsburgh: University Center For International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1974).

3. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, p. 12.

4. See M. Nash, "Rural Education for Development: Burma and Malaysia, A Contrast in Cultural Meaning and Structural Relations, in "*Education and Rural Development: The World Yearbook of Education, 1974*, eds. P. Foster and J. Sheffield (London: Evans Brothers, 1973), pp. 338-39.

5. R. O. Clemmer, "Truth, Duty, and the Revitalization of Anthropologists: A New Perspective on Cultural Change and Resistance," in *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. Dell Hymes (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 222-23.

6. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, p. 13.

7. C. Wagley and M. Harris, *Minorities in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

8. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations*, p. 14.

9. From F. M. Wirt, "Ethnic Minorities and School Policy in European Democracies" (Paper presented at the American Political Science Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 1974), p. 24.

10. Parallels between the Lapp and American Indian educational experiences are—despite the difference in the two groups' populations (i.e., approximately 800,000 American Indians vs. approximately 40,000 Lapps)—perhaps the closest. See Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst, *To Live on this Earth: American Indian Education* (New York: Doubleday, 1972); T. With, "Noen refleksjoner," *Sami Aellin 1953-1955* (Oslo, 1955), pp. 135-38; and J. Eisenberg and H. Troper, *Native Survival* (Toronto: Canadian Critical Issues Series, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1974).

11. L. R. Homme, ed., *Nordisk Nykolonialisme: Samiske Problem i dag* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1969), pp. 56-57.

12. G. Park, "Samernas Framtid: ett svenskt dilemma," *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* 41 (1959):19-23.

13. Sweden, *Samernas skolgang: Betankande avgivet av 1956 ars nomadskole-utredning* SOU 1960:41 (Stockholm: The Government, 1960).

14. H. Eidheim, "The Lappish Movement: An Innovative Political Process," in *Local Level Politics*, ed. Marc J. Schwartz (Chicago: Aldine, 1968); A. Kung, *Samemakt: Välfärd till döds eller Kulturellt folkmord?* (Stockholm: Raben and Sjögren, 1970), pp. 15-17; and O. Brox, "'Conservation' and 'Destruction' of Traditional Culture," in *Circumpolar Problems: Habitat, Economy, and Social Relations in the Artic*, ed. Gősta Berg (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1973), pp. 39-44.

15. E. Dahlström presents a sociological analysis of *Same* revival efforts in his excellent study, *Den samiska minoriteten i Sverige* (Research Report 24, Department of Sociology, University of Gothenburg, 1972). See pp. 21ff.

16. I. Ruong, *Samerna* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1969), pp. 54-61.

17. Cited in I. Ruong, "Views about the Lapps," in *The Lapps Today*, eds. R. G. P. Hill and K. Nikul (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), II:203.

18. See E. Nordberg, "Arjeplogs Lappsloka," *Arsbocker i svensk undervisningshistoria*, Vol. 89/90 (1956), for an account of these influences at one school. See also I. Ruong, "Views about the Lapps," pp. 162-63.

19. Cited in Ruong, ibid., p. 142.

20. Ibid.

21. I. Ruong, *Samerna*, p. 142.

22. See the somewhat pessimistic work by L. Wallmark, "Ar Sveriges samer dőmda att forsvinna?" *Bland Sveriges Samer* (Stockholm, 1958).

23. With, "Noen refleksjoner"; A. Hoem, *Samenes skolegang* (Oslo: Sameliv, Samisk Selskaps Arbok, Universitetsforlaget, 1967); and B. Östlund, "Samernas folkhögskola och samerna," *Tidskrift för svenska folkhögskolan* 54 (1973):285-88.

24. Wallmark, "Ar Sveriges samer dömda att forsvinna?"; Park, "Samernas Framtid"; P. Otnes, *Den samiske nasjon: Interresseorganisasjoner i samenes politiske historie* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1970); and M. Lundegard, "Har samekulturen chans overleva?" *Dagens Nyheter* (December 3, 1973), p. 3.

25. R. H. Lowie, "A note on Lapp Culture History," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 1 (1945):447-54; and F. Haltbald, "Övergang frän nomadism till agrar bostättning i Jokkmokks socken," *Acta Lapponica* 14 (1968):14-21.

26. Eidheim, "Lappish Movement," p. 207.

27. See, for example H. Eidheim, "When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ed. F. Barth (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1959), pp. 39-57; and Brox, "'Conservation' and 'Destruction' of Traditional Culture."

28. S. Porsanger, "The Sense of Solidarity Among the Lapps," *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia* 21 (1965):264-66.

29. Eidheim, "Lappish Movement," p. 209.

30. L. Fimerstad, "Samerna i kolonial situation," *Goteborgs Handels Tidning* (August 13, 1973), p. 3.

31. T. G. Svensson, "Economic Modernization and Conflict," *Ethnographic Museum: University of Oslo Yearbook, 1970* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1972), pp. 33-46.

32. Otnes, *Den Samiske nasjon*; and Svensson, "Economic Modernization and Conflict."

33. See T. G. Svensson, "Samernas politska organisation: En studie av en etnisk minoritet i förhallande till storsamhället," (Ph.D. diss., University of Stockholm, 1973), chapter 6.

34. I. Ruong, "Lapp Schools, Teacher Education, and Trans-Cultural Studies," in *Education in the North*, ed. Frank Darnell (College, Alaska: Arctic Institute of North America, University of Alaska, 1972), p. 332.

35. S. Porsanger, "Socialvården och samerna," *Samid dilit* (Oslo, 1957), pp. 75-79.

36. See Eidheim, "Lappish Movement."

37. R. G. Paulston, *Educational Change in Sweden* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), pp. 84-85; B. Stenholm, *Education in Sweden* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1970), pp. 34ff; and M. D. Hancock, *Sweden: The Politics of Postindustrial Change* (Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, 1972), p. 44.

38. Dalström, *Den Samiska minoriteten i Sverige.*

39. A. Hçoem, "Samer, skole og samfunn," *Tidsskrift for Samfunnsforskning* (1968), pp. 12-19.

40. M. Svonni, "Sameskolan—en bluff?," *Invandrare och Minoriteter—Scandinavian Migration and Ethnic Minority Review* 3/4 (1977):22-25.

41. B. G. Lidroth, "Norrbotten och dess lansstyretse samernas storsta problem," *Norrlandsk Tidskrift* No. 2 (1974), pp. 609-10.

42. Ostlund, "Samernas folkhogskola och samerna," pp. 286-87.

43. See F. Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 32-34.

44. Svenska Samernas Riksförbund (SSR), *Protokoll and samernas samepolitiska program* (Stockholm: The Association, 1971), p. 1.

45. Norbottenlan, "The Teaching of Lapps," (Lulea: Board of Education, 1968), pp. 1-3.

46. Ostlund, "Samernas folkhögskola och samerna," pp. 287-88.

47. Lidroth, "Norrbotten och dess lansstyretse samernas storsta problem." For a proposal to bypass educational authorities and develop nonformal educational activities at the new Nordic *Same* Institute in northern Norway, see P. Sammallahti, "Samernas sprak och skolförhallanden i Finland," *Nordisk Minoritetsforskning* 2 (1975):17.

48. See M. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (Berkeley, Cal.: The University of California Press, 1975), and especially his chapter 10, "The Political Economy of Ethnic Change," pp. 311-320.

PART 3

Folk Colleges in North American Social and Ethnic Movements

The Movement to Preserve Danish Culture in North America

D. C. Larson

The development of the folk high school in the United States was closely connected with the history of the Danish Lutheran Church in America. It perhaps would be more appropriate to say "Danish Lutheran Churches in America" as there were two Danish Lutheran synods from 1884 until the merger with other Lutheran bodies in 1960, and, between 1894 and 1896, there were three Danish Lutheran synods in the United States.[1] The two long-lived synods were the Danish Evangelical Church in America, which was Grundtvigian, and the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, which was Inner Mission, or fundamentalist, in orientation.[2] Table 9.1 gives the membership for the two church groups for selected years.

TABLE 9.1

Membership of Danish Lutheran Churches in America in Selected Years, 1910-1959

Year	*Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Grundtvigian)*	*United (Danish) Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (Inner Mission)*
1910	20,853	19,884
1929	19,731	29,590
1950	19,404	46,459
1959	23,952	70,149

Source: Nyholm, *Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Church,* p. 285.

It will be noted that there was a decline in membership for the "Danish" church except for the last decade reported, while the "United" church had a substantial growth for each period. Over a period of time the Grundtvigian-Inner Mission conflict probably became less of a factor in determining the growth of the two church bodies than the Danish identification of the "Danish" church. From the very beginning, however, according to Paulsen, "there was a movement within the Inner Mission group ["United" church] to normalize the language into English."[3] In 1946 the "United" church dropped the word *Danish* from its official title and became the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.[4] The "Danish" synod continued general use of Danish in Sunday schools until 1929 and in church services until 1940, as compared with the "United" synod's general use of English in Sunday schools from about 1920 and in church services from about 1925.[5]

Paulsen asserts that a Dane with Grundtvigian orientation would be less likely to have become an immigrant than a Dane of Inner Mission religious persuasion.[6] It has been estimated that only 7 percent of the Danish immigrants joined any church in the United States.[7] Table 9.2 lists immigration from Denmark to the United States from 1820 to 1960.

TABLE 9.2

Immigration from Denmark to the United States, 1820-1960

Years	*Immigrants*
1820-1830	189
1831-1840	1,063
1841-1850	539
1851-1860	3,749
1861-1870	17,094
1871-1880	31,771
1881-1890	88,132
1891-1900	50,231
1901-1910	65,285
1911-1920	41,983
1921-1930	32,430
1931-1940	2,661
1941-1950	4,602
1951-1960	8,838
Total	345,936

Source: Nyholm, *Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Church*, p. 67.

Danish immigration occurred later and was smaller than that from Norway and Sweden. From 1820 to 1870, for example, a total of about 250,000 immigrants came from Norway and Sweden, but as Table 9.2 shows, only 22,634 arrived from Denmark. By 1900 the total number of Danish immigrants had reached 192,768, but this was less than half the total number of Norwegians and less than one fourth of the Swedes who had come to America by that time.[8]

Over 30,000 Danes had arrived in the United States before the arrival of the first Danish minister. When the ministers arrived they found that many of the church-going Danes were members of the Norwegian and Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Other Danes were to be found in Danish Baptist, Adventist, Methodist, or Mormon churches.

The first Danish clergy arrived in 1871 and in 1872 the Church Mission Society, the predecessor of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, was founded in Neenah, Wisconsin, by Rasmus Anderson and Adam Dan, clergymen, and R. J. Radick, a layman.[9] Dan served as president of the Mission Society for two years and was the first editor of the church paper *Kirkelig Samler* [Church Gatherer]. The last page of the first issue carried a black-bordered notice of the death of Bishop N. F. S. Grundtvig, the "father" of the folk high school idea.

Ludvig Schrøder, principal of the leading Danish folk high school at Askov, began to develop and express his thoughts on how best to help the Danish immigrants in the United States in the summer of 1871, about the same time as the sending of the first three Danish pastors to the United States. As a result, the Danish seminary for mission pastors to the Danes in the United States opened at Askov in the fall of 1872, the year that the Mission Society and the first Danish church paper in the United States were founded, Nyholm states that Schrøder expressed his basic ideas in the address which he delivered in the summer of 1871. In this speech he stated: "[The Danish Church] should do missionary work among the other Lutheran churches, so that the churchly view of life, which by Gruntvig has become the possession of the Nordic congregation, could by common cooperation among all the Lutheran churches . . . in America, become known and adopted by them all."[10]

Schrøder thought that when the Grundtvigian idea of the church had "completed its triumphant march" through the Lutheran churches in the United States, it would have "retroactive influence" on the old Lutheran countries in Europe. He felt that the contributions of the various churches would enrich the whole Lutheran Church, which "would be reborn . . . with heretofore unseen and unsuspected power."[11] Although Schrøder's ideal was not realized, it provided a powerful motivation for the training of mission clergy at Askov for work in the United States and the establishment of Grundtvigian folk high schools in America.

The concept of the two-way immigration of ideas embodied in Schrøder's thought, even though not realized as in his vision, may be related to earlier instances where we find exchanges, if not always mutual, between the Old and the New World. For example, George Scott became the first Methodist missionary to Sweden in 1820. It is reported by Arden that "though [Scott] was a Methodist, he did not seek to convert his Swedish audiences to the Methodist viewpoint."[12] Scott's church in Stockholm was the Bethlehem Chapel. In the 1830s an old ship in the New York harbor was converted into a Methodist mission for Swedish immigrants and seamen. The mission was known as the Bethel Ship and its founder was a brother of the Rev. Jonas J. Hedstrom, who was to establish at Victoria, Illinios, in 1840 what has been aknowledged to be "the first Swedish Methodist Church in the World."[13] Later, Swedish Methodist churches were founded in Sweden, evidently drawing inspiration from the Swedish Methodist churches in the United States.

P. S. Vig estimated that by 1870 there were about five thousand Danish immigrants who had become Mormons in the United States. He points out that a month before the Danes sent the first three Danish Lutheran pastors to the United States, the Danish Mormons in the United States had sent seven Danish missionaries to Scandinavia.[14]

Assimilation of the immigrant in the great American "melting pot" has been the predominant trend in the United States. Bergendoff's comments regarding the Swedish immigrant could well apply to most other national groups, at least those from Scandinavia.

> In a great number of cases, probably in the majority, the individuals and families merged with the local community and soon lost their identity. Some wanted to forget the past, the foreign manners, the Swedish language. They shunned distinctions from the American environment and even concealed their European ancestry. In places where anti-foreign sentiment prevailed, the process was quickened.[15]

However, from the Civil War until World War I there emerged the idea of "Swedish America," the thought that in the new world a kind of replica of the "old country" could be created. The idea, although an illusion, was that of the preservation of the Swedish culture.[16] The foreign language presses were probably, at least in Swedish circles, the leading proponents of the "Swedish-America" idea. Likewise, the idea of the Grundtvigians and the "Danish" church and its publication was a "Danish America,"—the preservation of Danish culture in America.

The Danish-American Folk High Schools

At a meeting of Danish Lutheran ministers in Chicago in November 1876, a motion was made by Pastor H. Rosenstad to start a Danish folk high school in America.[17] Further discussion continued in *Den Danske Pioneer* [The Danish Pioneer]. A year later it was resolved to open the Danish folk high school in Chicago with Pastor Jakob Holm as its president, but the plan did not materialize.[18]

However, interest in the project continued to grow and the first twenty dollars for the first folk high school in the United States were subscribed by members of the Askov Folk High School in Denmark.[19] H. J. Pedersen, an enthusiastic supporter of the project, suggested that those in favor of the project vote for it by submitting "ballots." In his article he stated: "The ballots must be quadrangular and bear the mark: United States—One dollar. The amount of ballots will determine the issue. Opponents may send half-dollars!"[20] It is not known how many opponents sent half-dollars, but Pedersen's words provide a good example of Danish humor. Many did respond to the appeal and the school was built at Elk Horn, Iowa, in 1878, rather than at Chicago as had been originally suggested.

The school opened on November 1, 1878, with festive ceremonies. The first principal was Norwegian-born Pastor Olav L. Kirkeberg. He was a student of Christopher Bruun, the founder of the second Norwegian folk high school, and was deeply committed to Grundtvig's ideas. Kirkeberg had been trained for the Lutheran ministry at the Askov Folk High School under Ludvig Schrøder.[21] There were sixteen boys in the first class, two of whom later became pastors in the "Danish" synod.[22]

As Kirkeberg was Norwegian, it appeared natural to him to name the school "Leif Eriksen's Minde" (memorial). But the name caused much controversy and many comments in *Den Danske Pioneer*.[23]

Mortensen reports that Kirkeberg "was an inspired speaker who was able through the spoken word to awaken in young people a concern for spiritual and cultural values."[24] Kirkeberg, assisted by Holm and Rosenstand, compiled a Nordic folk songbook in 1878. He also, with assistance of Kristian Østergaard, published and edited the weekly paper *Dannevirke*, which first appeared in 1880. It became an important publication in the "Danish" synod.[25]

The Elk Horn Folk High School in southwest Iowa was located in what Nyholm called in 1963 "the largest Danish-American settlement in the states, about 35 by 85 miles in extension."[26] Within the area there are sixteen Lutheran and two Baptist churches built by Danish immigrants or their descendants. The first Danish settler arrived in 1868, ten years before the opening of the first folk high school at Elk Horn. Nyholm states that school helped to attract immigrants to the community[27]

Even though the folk high school was in a strong Danish-American community it did not prosper. Kirkeberg was discouraged by opposition and mounting debts and in 1880 disposed of the school. The "Danish" synod Pastor H. J. Pedersen became the new principal and Kristian Østergaard remained on the staff. Pedersen stayed only two years, but went on to found schools at Ashland in 1882 and Danebod at Tyler, Minnesota, in 1888. Attendance increased from 1880 until fire destroyed the school in 1887. It was rebuilt through contributions and continued to 1890 when it was sold by the "Danish" synod to Pastor Kristian Anker. He attempted to run the school as a more conventional academic institution, but this too failed.[28] The folk high school buildings were later converted into the Salem Old People's Home.[29]

During his two years at Elk Horn Pedersen bought and sold land. In 1882 he used the profits to start "Nybygden," the second folk high school in the United States, at Ashland near Grant, Michigan. The school is generally referred to as the Ashland Folk High School. He had hoped to attract students from the metropolitan areas to his new school, but enrollments remained low and in 1888 he accepted a call to be pastor in the new Danish colony at Tyler, Minnesota. As soon as he got to Tyler, he started on plans for the Danebod Folk High School, which he opened in 1888.[30]

Kristian Østergaard was editor of the *Dannevirke* weekly for some years and also became a pastor He accompanied Pedersen to the Ashland school, then returned to Denmark in 1885 and established a folk high school there. When he returned to the United States in 1892, H. C. Strandskov, pastor at Gowen, Michigan, purchased the Ashland school for ninety-nine cents. He attempted to attract students for three years, but failed to get satisfactory results. Next, J. Jørgesen, a teacher from Denmark, who later became a pastor, tried to make a go of the school, but failed.[31] Jens Christian Bay, later a prominent author and for many years head of the John Crerar Library in Chicago, attempted to operate the school for a year as a Christian but nonsectarian college.[32] It is obvious that Bay spoke from first-hand knowledge when he addressed the Conference for Education in the South at Jacksonville, Florida, in April 1911 on problems of transferring educational institutions.[33]

While P. Rasmussen was pastor at Ashland (1913-1920), he reopened the folk high school. In Mortensen's words? "[Rasmussen] struggled along with [the Ashland school] until he left for Canada, where, undaunted, he built another folk school (Dalun) in 1920."[34]

The third folk high school, at West Denmark, Wisconsin, was open for only one term in 1884. Kristian Nørgaard served as the principal. Mortensen feels that the remoteness of the school and the lack of transportation discouraged students from attending.[35]

Kristian Østergaard was closely connected with the early period of the Danish-American folk high school from the founding of the first school at Elk Horn in 1878 until his return to Denmark in 1885 to start a folk high school there. His evaluation in 1907 of the pioneer effort in the United States follows:

> We moved the Danish folk school to America. But America was, and continued for years to be, a strange continent for us. In mind and thought we lived in Denmark. American cultural life we knew nothing about or at least we only faintly began to discover it. That was undoubtedly a mistake which resulted in a warped evaluation of America, but it was probably a necessary counter-balance against the widespread inclination among many immigrants completely to discard their cultural and spiritual heritage before they were able to assimilate new values.[36]

The key for assimilation of new values in the American culture was a knowledge of English. The early emphasis on Danish did not facilitate learning about American culture. However, early pressure brought into the curriculum both English and the civic subjects which the immigrants needed to become citizens. At the opening ceremonies of the fourth folk high school at Nysted, Nebraska, in 1887, a local leader, Niels Nielsen, rather jolted those assembled by expressing the hope "that the school would become as American as possible, since young people would find no use for Danish."[37]

The Nysted school opened in 1887 in an abandoned store under the leadership of Pastor C. J. Skovgaard with twelve students. In 1888 a new building was erected and enrollment increased. After three years Skovgaard left and was replaced by H. S. Strandskov, who moved to Ashland in 1891. Pastor Thorvald Knudsen, from Denmark, replaced Stranskov after a long delay in 1898. Under Knudsen's leadership the school began to flourish and a new wing was added. Knudsen accepted the pastorate at Tyler in 1902 and moved to the Danebod school. Pastor A. T. Dorf then became principal.[38] According to Andreasen, "Pastor Dorf was the only pastor of the Danish Lutheran Church in the United States then, and the only folk high school principal, with a theological university training. The other ministers were mainly trained at Askov Folk High School."[39]

Dorf and his wife returned to Denmark in 1906 and the school remained closed until 1907 when Pastor Carl P. Højbjerg came from Grand View College to be the head of the school. He remained until 1912, when he returned to Denmark where he became pastor of a parish. Aage Møller then became the principal and stayed until 1931, longer than anyone else.[40] Møller was the first American-born folk high school leader. As a part of his doctoral study on "Danish-American Folk Traditions," Frank M. Paulsen tape-recorded an interview with Møller at Solvang, California, in July 1961. Møller stated that "the school folded up about 1934."[41] According to Mortensen, Højbjerg made a brief attempt to operate a school at Nysted in English, probably after Møller's departure in 1931 and the closing of the school.[42] Andreasen asserts that in 1903 Nysted was the only folk high school in operation under the control of the Danish Lutheran Church, although he allows that "other schools were open off and on, depending upon the individual ability of the leaders to secure the necessary funds."[43]

As has been noted earlier, Pastor H. J. Pedersen, principal of the Elk Horn school between 1880 and 1882 and founder of the Ashland school in 1882 and its principal until 1888, also founded the Danebod Folk High School at Tyler, Minnesota, in 1888. Pedersen was also pastor of the local church, which was a fairly common practice in the early Danish-American folk high schools. At least when this was the case, there was not a conflict between the parish and folk high school interests. Pedersen resigned in 1891 and was replaced by Ole Sttevns and then, in turn, by Anders. In 1903 Thorvald Knudsen became principal and the school was enlarged and attendance began to increase.[44]

By 1910 the responsibilities of the school and the parish had grown to such an extent that Knudsen remained principal of the folk high school while Pastor Hakon Jørgensen took over the pastorate. In 1912 Knudsen left the folk high school and Halfdan Helweg became principal. Mortensen reports that a personal conflict developed between Helweg and Jørgensen, and both men resigned in 1914. In 1915 Knudsen returned from Grand View College and served as principal of the school until he returned to Denmark in 1920. The school burned in 1917, but was rebuilt in 1918. Pastor P. B. Anmentorp served briefly as principal before he returned to Denmark.[45] In 1922 Alfred C. Nielsen became principal and Alfred Jensen the pastor. In 1926 C. P. Højbjerg became principal and in 1930 Holger Strandskov became the pastor. In 1931 Højbjerg returned to Nysted, Nebraska, and Pastor Strandslsov "attempted for some time to conduct folk school courses in English, following which the school stood idle for some years."[46]

Between 1943 and 1961, when Enok Mortensen served as pastor at Tyler, Minnesota, the Danebod Folk High School buildings were renovated. Mortensen states that "since 1946 the buildings at Danebod have been used for community activities and short-time camps conducted in the spirit of the folk school."[47] From 1961 to 1965, Jerome W. Nilssen served as director of the school and as pastor of the congregation. The story of the Danebod Folk High School and church is told in detail in Mortensen's *75 Years at Danebod.*[48]

A Special Danish Interest Conference was held at Danebod Folk High School from August 7 to 10, 1964, at which Dr. Ernest D Nielsen, president of Grand View College, gave a lecture on Grundtvig. Nielsen is a recognized authority on Grundtvig and is author of *N. F. S. Grundtvig: An American Study.*[49] In a personal letter dated February 20, 1969, to the writer of this study, Dr. Nielsen indicated that the 1968 Special Danish Interest Conference was held at Grand View College. He writes: "In all probablity, I believe that most of the future conferences will be held on our campus." He further states that "Danebod Folk School, at Tyler, Minnesota, is virtually at a standstill, except for an annual Danish folk-meeting." We may assume that even though activity at Danebod diminished, the tradition of the folk high school idea persisted there longer that at any of the other schools. Perhaps the removal of the Special Danish Interest Conference to Grand View College marks the end of educational activity at Danebod as the annual Danish folk meeting which remains is probably a social and commemorative activity.

The last attempt of the "Danish" church to establish a folk high school in the United States was Atterdag College at Solvang, California. In 1910 Pastor Benedict Nordentoft started efforts to build the school, which opened in 1911. Nordentoft returned to a pastorate in Denmark in 1921 and was replaced by Pastor Evald Kristensen, who remained until 1931. Pastor Marius Krog succeeded him and attempted to revive the school, but was not successful.[50]

The "North" church also founded and operated a folk high school for a brief period. Pastor P. S. Vig was the leader of the so-called "North" Danish synod, which existed from 1894 to 1896 as a third Danish Lutheran group in the United States. The Elk Horn school was purchased from Kristian Anker, who remained as principal, and P. S. Vig, the president of the seminary of the newly organized Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.[51] In 1899 the seminary at Elk Horn merged with the seminary at Blair, Nebraska, with Vig as president and at the same time Dana College was founded at the same location with Anker as its president.[52]

The "North" church merged with The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Society in America in 1896 to form the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.[53] The "United" church established the Bronson Folk High School at Kenmare, North Dakota, in 1902 according to Schacht.[54] However, Nyholm reports that in 1901 Pastor H. Hansen had "turned his home into a boarding house in order to conduct a school designed to gather Danish immigrants during the winter months."[55] The folk high school was successful and the North Dakota District of the "United" church erected a three-story building for the Bronson school. They had accomodations for forty pupils and conducted a four-month winter term for fifteen years. Attendance averaged thirty to forty, but reached a peak of fifty-six in 1913-1914. The school closed with the entry of the United States into World War I. Nyholm reports that twenty-one of the students who attended Bronson later became pastors.[56] Two other schools which operated for a short time were Ansgar College at Hutchinson, Minnesota, and Luther College, at Racine, Wisconsin. These schools stressed practical subjects and did not emphasize the Danish language. From 1925 to 1935 Dana Folk High School at Calgary, Alberta, Canada, was affiliated with the "United" church. The school worked mainly with Danish immigrants and taught English as the main subject in the school which had a Christian emphasis.[57]

Most of the folk high schools in the United States operated two three-month courses, one for men during the winter and one for women during the summer. The Kenmare school, as noted above, conducted a four-month winter term. The coming of World War I marked the end for most programs at the folk high schools.[58]

Nyholm refers to the United States entry into World War I as a cause for a "national awakening." Among othe facets of this "awakening" was a mistrust of foreign languages and the practice of "non-American" customs. However, the Danish-American leaders still wanted their youth to keep contacts with Denmark. Pastor Kristian Østergaard wrote in 1918:

> I fully realize how strong the Americanizing current is, and in a certain sense I desire it to be strong enough to carry you along. I desire that you become Americans who take an interest in all that which best serves this country and its people. But since I am convinced that we serve America best by maintaining contact through our mother tongue with the people from whom we came my wish

> for you is that you may desire and succeed in becoming good Americans without losing contact with our fatherland and the Danish church.[59]

In addition to the interest of the "Danish" and "United" churches in the folk high school, the *Dansk Folkesamfund* [Danish Folk Society] founded in the spring of 1887 needs to be mentioned. In 1881, Frederick Lange Grundtvig, the youngest son of Bishop Grundtvig, emigrated to America. He bought a small piece of property near Shiocton, Wisconsin. His avocation was ornithology and after a study of bird life in Wisconsin he published a scientific volume about it. F. L. Grundtvig was ordained in 1883 and served the Danish congregation at Clinton, Iowa, until he returned to Denmark in 1900. Mortensen reports that "many leading laymen and several pastors in our [Danish] synod were charter members, but the real leader was Pastor Frederick Lange Grundtvig."[60] The Danish Folk Society stated: "We have experienced a need for a society which will gather all in America who will preserve Danish culture and contribute toward the serious task of preserving and furthering the cultural and spiritual heritage of our fathers. It is our certain conviction that we become better American citizens by continuing to remain Danes."[61] In sharp contrast, we have these words by Dr. P. S. Vig, the leader of the "United" church: "I love the Danish language and literature dearly, but I had come to the United States to become an American, and here my children were born and brought up. How could I make Danish nationalists of them?"[62]

Nyholm states that Pastor F. L. Grundtvig was "the most bitter opponent of the public school"[63] in America. He held that the schools were too English and not American, that they were irreligious and taught a morality which "doubtless will prove to be of no value whatsoever." He said that the schools were spiritless. He criticized the public schools for accepting pupils from degraded homes. And his final objection was that the public schools looked upon the Lutheran church as a "foreign church."[64]

The Danish Folk Society worked toward the preservation of the Danish language and customs. In its efforts to promote its cause it established Danish colonies at Danevang, Texas, in 1894, and at Partridge, Minnesota, in 1905. The name of Partridge was soon changed to Askov. In 1906 the Dagmar, Montana, colony was founded. In 1911 the colony at Solvang, California, was established and the folk high school, Atterdag College was founded the same year. A colony was established in Canada at Dalum in Alberta in 1917, and the last colony was established in 1931 at Granly, Mississippi.[65] The motivating force behind the colony movement was summed up in these thoughts by Nyholm on F. L. Grundtvig's work: "America was not to be considered a melting pot for the people from various lands; on the contrary, his ideal was a union of independent nationalities, each one retaining its ancestral language and culture in addition to the common English language."[66]

One may raise the question: What did the Danish-American folk high schools contribute to this Danish movement? A total of ten schools were founded in the United States and two were founded in Canada by pastors associated with "Danish" and "United" Lutheran synods based in the United States. The folk high schools in America followed in general the major pattern development of the folk high schools in Denmark. The first schools were founded by Grundtvigians or the "Danish" church, and later the Inner Mission group, the "United" church, started its own schools. One school was founded to attract urban youth and another to assist the immigrants. The latter is an example of specialization, but one would find no exact counterpart in Denmark. And two of the schools gave special interest to practical subjects. While folk high schools created in the Danish movement in the United States have not survived, they undoubtedly assisted many young Danish Americans to become American, while they provided missionary opportunities for Danish pastors.

Three schools in the United States inspired by the Danish folk high school idea but not directly connected with the Danish-American folk high school movement will be touched upon at the end of this chapter. The first is the John C. Campbell Folk School of Brasstown, North Carolina, founded in 1925. The second is Ashland College at Grant, Michigan, established in 1928 in the old Ashland Folk High School building. Third is the Highlander Folk School started in 1932 at Monteagle, Tennessee. The Highlander school is also examined in detail in chapter 11. Additional folk high school influences on the development of American education are briefly examined in the remainder of this chapter.

Folk College Influence on American Education

In Europe at the time of the founding of the folk high school movements in Scandinavia, the idea of a "common school" system was embodied in the concept of "folk" or "people's" schools, that is, schools for the lower classes, or "common people." In contrast, in the United States, Horace Mann held that the common school was *not to be* "a school for common people," but rather "a school common to all people."[67] Cremin summarizes Mann's concern with the need for a unifying system of value in America in these words: "Mann was tremendously impressed with the diversity of the American people. Yet he feared that conflicts of value might rip them apart and render them powerless. Dreading the destructive possibilities of religious, political, and class difference, he sought a common value system within which diversity might flourish."[68] Mann's quest was for a new public philosophy which could be shared by Americans of every background and persuasion. He envisioned the common school, a school common to all people, as the instrument which would unite Americans in a sense of community.

In Scandinavia at the time of the founding of the folk high school movements the traditional European dual pattern of education was the accepted system: a separate system of schools for a small elite who might progress through to the university, and another system of inferior education for the common people. However, common elementary systems, starting first with the primary grades, then advancing through the seventh year did develop. Now common schooling is being extended to an eighth or ninth year. While the specific developments of the extension of the common schools in Scandinavia will not be discussed, it should be noted that the effect of the extension of common schooling on the folk high school appears to be undercutting both its unique task and autonomy from the formal school system. The development of the folk high schools movements in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland was apparently in harmony, at least in part, with dualistic educational thought in these countries, as evidenced by the growth and survival of the folk high school as an alternative folk educational institution. But as dualism declines, Scandinvian folk high schools will most likely either be absorbed by the emerging system of common schools, or continue on a smaller scale in autonomous social and ethnic movements.

From the remarks made on the idea of a "common" school for all the people in America, it is apparent that the idea of a Danish folk high school, or even a Danish-American folk high school in the United States, would not, given powerful pressures for acculturation, have a great chance for survival. The Danes who established the Danish folk high schools in America had little contact with the mainstream of American educational thought, and little desire, if any, to learn more. Those who had, such as F. L. Grundtvig, were critical of the system. This did not hold true for the majority of the Danish immigrants, but did for the strongest Grundtvigian proponents of the Danish Folk Society.

A review of social thought by American leaders in education reveals some views similar and some quite in opposition to those of N. F. S. Grundtvig. Some of the appeals for the support of the educational institution have a familiar ring. However, the latter-day doctrinare adherents to the Grundtvigian folk high school idea placed overemphasis on the mother tongue, and especially upon its place in the Danish-American folk high schools.

A little over a hundred years ago the school in the United States was looked upon as an institution to preserve religious orthodoxy and to maintain the existing social and economic order. Even the rise of reason and increased secularization during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries failed to have much influence upon the schools. Curti comments on the pedagogy inherited from the colonial period as being "more suitable to a class society than to a republican one that claimed to be democratic."[69]

While the Pestalozzians advocated more freedom for the child, it was probably the rise of the middle class, who held to Franklin's utilitarian view of knowledge, that brought people to look on the school as a means for social and economic advancement. Jefferson did not believe that all men had equal ability, but he thought that the educational system should recruit talent on the basis of ability for the leadership of society. "Jefferson [was] the first American to emphasize public education as an instrument for the realization of democracy and for the furthering of social reform. He regarded education as the only certain means of promoting human happiness and the freedom and democracy for which he stood."[70]

When the school became looked upon as a function of the state, it was viewed as an agency to preserve democracy and as a means to weed out corruption and improve public morality. Support for public education by men of wealth probably was more motivated by a desire to protect their property than by a desire to foster a democratic society. Another important function of education was to facilitate the assimilation of immigrants into American society. The growth of nationalism promoted the development of education although localism and regionalism continued to adversely affect education. The plantation system and slavery in the South arrested the growth of public schools until the Civil War. Reconstruction and the education of the emancipated slaves caused further complications. Nor did the frontier provide a very warm reception for any education other than that of a practical nature.

Horace Mann worked toward making the common elementary school into a democratic institution that would allow maximum human development. Mann's acceptance of phrenology reinforced his efforts in behalf of hygiene and character training as means to check the antisocial tendencies of man. In order to persuade factory owners to support the improvement of education, Mann compiled statistics which showed "that educated labor was far more productive and profitable than ignorant labor."[71]

Mann modified his faith in individualism to a doctrine of social responsibility which was based on his theory of wealth. He felt that "it was . . . an obligation on the part of contemporary capitalists to cease exploiting the public lands for private profit and to set them aside for the support of such socially useful institutions as insane asylums and schools."[72] Although Mann argued that the school could effect major social change, he went into politics to fight slavery and allowed himself more freedom than he had seen fit to exercise on behalf of the public schools.

William T. Harris provided American education with a philosophy that took into account new social realities while still identifying with the ideas associated with the older society. Harris was profoundly influenced by idealism based on the writings of Hegel and the transcendentalists. While Hegelianism elevated the self-realization of the individual, it nevertheless subordinated the individual to the existing social order. Harris tended to obscure the evils of machine civilization by emphasizing benefits derived or possible from industrialization. He championed laissez faire capitalism and the preservation of the status quo. "Just as the earlier educations had advocated the free common school, Harris championed university extension as a double safeguard."[73]

Relation of Folk High Schools to the American High School and Junior College. The Boston English Classical School, founded in 1821, is considered to be the first school to provide a modern form of secondary education in the United States.[74] Later this type of school became known as a high school and in 1874 the Kalamazoo Case established the principal that the high school (grades nine to twelve) was a part of the common school system and could be supported by public taxation.[75] The concept of the common school was extended again by the idea of the junior college (grades thirteen to fourteen) when the first such institution was established at Joliet, Illinois, in 1902.[76] Although the junior college movement is growing in importance, it is not by any means a universally accepted part of the common-school idea.

After the Kalamazoo Case in 1874, many high schools were founded in the United States. As already discussed, the first Danish-American folk high school was founded four years later in 1878 at Elk Horn, Iowa. The American high school became a comprehensive institution and grew in popularity, although enrollment in high school did not become universal practice. Compulsory attendance in the common school usually ended after the eight grade. In a typical immigrant family around the turn of the century, the older children probably finished only the eighth grade or less, but by 1910 enrollment in high school became a more common practice. Although the Danish-American folk high schools were schools for young adults, the real competition to these schools came from the growing American high schools.

Recently the state of Illinois authorized the formation of junior colleges that are independent from the common school district or high school districts to which they are related. The name *community college* better denotes the broadness of the offerings of these schools. The schools offer technical and vocational training and informal noncredit adult education classes as well as two years of college-credit courses.

Southwood[79] concluded from his study of adult education in Scandinavia that the concept of the "community college" in the United States is closely related to the idea of the folk high school in Scandinavia. Dr. Ernest D. Nielsen, President of Grand View College, has some similar thoughts, and is working on a paper in which he will compare Grundtvig's idea for a University of Scandinavia at Göteborg, Sweden, with the emerging concepts of the American community college idea.[78]

The Folk High School in Relation to Other Educational Programs. As early as the 1830s university students in Norway were active in adult education activities, but the work was not formally organized until 1864, the same year as the founding of the first Norwegian folk high school at Sagatun.[79] In 1830 Professor Silliman of Yale College started a series of popular lectures on natural science for adults in the New Haven area. By 1859 his lectures had been extended to Pittsburgh, Baltimore, New Orleans, Mobile, Natchez, and St. Louis.[80] English universities started extension efforts early in the nineteenth century, but it was not until 1873 that first full-fledged extension programs were organized at Cambridge University. In the United States $10,000 was appropriated for extension work in 1891 by the Regents of the University of the State of New York.[81] Harris saw the university extension movement fulfilling for adults the same purpose as the common school for youth.

Shortly after the turn of the century, 4-H Clubs for youths were founded to strengthened rural life in the United States. (The four "H's" were Health, Heart, Head, and Hands.) In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act, establishing the Cooperative Extension Service, was passed. County agricultural agents were authorized and later the home demostration agent and a 4-H Club agent were often added. The county staff was responsible to both the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the land grant college of its state. The land grant college had been authorized by the Land Grant College Act of 1862. The purpose of the act was to establish a college of agriculture and mechanic arts in each of the states.[82]

In the same year the Cooperative Extension Service was established, the U.S. Bureau of Education published two official reports on the Danish folk high schools.[83] Although no direct relation can be established between these reports and the legislation, the influence of the folk high schools on Danish agriculture may have provided some inspiration to those who drafted the legislation. Knowles labels the Cooperative Extension Service as "the most extensive adult education program ever created."[84] One could make a rather good case to support the idea that the Cooperative Extension Service has been as important to the American farmer as the Danish folk high schools have been to the Danish farmer. Both have provided inspiration to and regeneration of rural life. They have provided basic knowledge of scientific agriculture and improved farming practices. They both have been connected in an indirect way to cooperative movements among the farmers in the respective countries. They have provided instruction in the domestic arts for women. Of course the patterns of instruction are different, but programs which succeed are those which meet the needs of the time. A Cooperative Extension Service program in Denmark in 1844 would probably not have been possible. In his official government report in 1914, Foght[85] suggested an American folk high school as a possible aid to the problems of the rural southern mountain region of Appalachia.

Schools Inspired by the Folk High School Idea in the United States. The American adaptation of the folk high school idea is represented by three schools of special interest. Two of the schools, the John C. Campbell Folk School and the Highlander Folk School, have received the most attention. But a third school, Ashland College, has received little attention.

John C. Campbell Folk School was founded in 1925 near Brasstown in North Carolina by Marguerite Butler and Olive Dame Campbell. The school was named in honor of the latter's husband, director of the Southern Highland Division of the Russell Sage Foundation, who at his death in 1919 was one of the best informed persons on the Southern highlander and his problems. Miss

Butler and Mrs. Campbell came to believe that a school similar to the Danish folk high school would best meet the needs of the highland people. They made a trip to Denmark, Sweden, and Finland to study the folk high schools. Both Miss Butler and Mrs. Campbell addressed the 1924 Conference of Southern Mountain Workers at Knoxville, Tennessee, regarding the folk high school idea and its promise for the highland area.[86] In 1925 they opened the John C. Campbell Folk High School and in 1928 Mrs. Campbell wrote her book[87] telling the story of the visit to Scandinavia and the establishment of the American folk school. Andreasen reports that under the guidance of the school the following cooperatives were organized: the Mountain Valley Creamery, a Farmer's Association, a Craft Guild, and the Brasstown Credit Union. Also, a number of men's and women's clubs were formed.[88] Klein and Schacht state that "the John C. Campbell Folk School is more of a center than a school. In some ways it is a demonstration farm which serves as a cultural and recreational fountainhead for the community. The long winter residential programs have by necessity given way to shorter sessions, from a week-end to several weeks held throughout the year. Emphasis is largely on folk arts and handicrafts, manual skills, and vocational improvement."[89]

On December 10, 1927, Dr. John E. Kirkpatrick and A. P. Coleman released from Olivet, Michigan, the "Preliminary Announcement of the Ashland School for Adult Education." The school was called Ashland College in an article published by Kirkpatrick in *The Survey*[90] on June 1, 1928. The first summer term was held for six weeks, July 30-September 9, 1928, with students enrolling for any or all of the three two-week periods.[91] On September 10, 1928, Eugene W. Sutherland, a student at Meadville Theological School, Chicago, was appointed the secretary-treasurer of the school. Sutherland was interviewed by the writer of this study and he kindly provided access to his personal collection of material on the school. Sutherland also spent two years in residence at the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

The Ashland College used the buildings of the old Ashland Folk High School which Kirkpatrick said had been "left idle for eight or nine years except at homecoming time when several hundred people gathered for a few days to review the past, renew acquaintance, and refresh the ideals inherited from their ancestors."[92] The objectives of the school were, in Kirkpatrick's words:

> This school aims to be a free laboratory, bound only by established principles of science, where mature people may try out their own education. It offers an opportunity for the suppressed liberal, whether teacher or student; for the teacher anxious to discover or to try out more rational and human methods of teaching; for the administrator weary of the "red [tape] menace" in the schools; for all teachers who are interested first in learning; for all adults who have a will to learn.[93]

Students were to be at least eighteen years of age and to have been out of school at least one year. Dr. Kirkpatrick declared that "newly fledged doctors of philosophy will be wholly ineligible," but then allowed that "dissatisfied and 'radical' undergraduates will be given careful consideration.[94] Perhaps Kirkpatrick was forty years ahead of his time, or we need several thousand Kirkpatricks today. In any case, college administrators should reexamine Kirkpatrick's thoughts on higher education as they relate to today's problems.

Teachers were not paid, for the first term at least, as Kirkpatrick wanted to "avoid the instructor-type of teacher."[95] The teachers paid their own expenses just as the students did. Such a plan was continued, but in 1934 some teachers were placed on the payroll of the CWA special fund for adult education.

In 1929 the Rev. Chester A. Graham became the director of the school. He was later to become state supervisor of rural WPA workers' education in Wisconsin.[96] The Ashland school was nondenominational. During the summer of 1928 the school and community held Sunday morning worship services in the nearby church. In 1933 it was reported in the *Ashland Folk High School News* that "last summer çthe worship servicesî were held in the school."[97] The paper continued: "There will be a lecture at the school each Sunday evening, but it may not necessarily deal with religious matters."[98] The attitude reflected toward religion was due, according to Graham, "to the fact that in the United States there are no universal grounds on which to meet."[99] Graham's interpretation of Grundtvig's meaning for the United States follows: "In the United States we are a metropolitan mixture out of which will evolve a race and we hope a rich culture. The very principle of Grundtvig that the school should be "folkelig" means that the life of the school grows out of the life of the people. An American folk high school grows out of the life of the American people."[100]

If the founders of the Danish folk high schools in the United States had had such an understanding early in the development of their schools, an American folk high school might have evolved rather than the Danish-American folk high school, which was doomed to fail. Another important difference is observed by Graham:

> The Danish people had an ancient cultural heritage. The folk schools sought to reawaken some of the old arts and crafts. In most of the United States we have no such ancient cultural heritage in common. A folk school, in our part of the country at least, must function as an awakener of cultural and artistic interests which are just in their process of being created as far as American life is concerned.[101]

The program of the school was progressive and students determined their own course of study. The following tentative program was developed for the ten-week winter term, January 6-March 15, 1930.

SCHEDULE

Monday	9:30 to 10:30	Social Trends in Modern Literature
	10:30 to 11:20	"History of Modern World since 1900"
	1:30 to 3:30	Architectural Design and Cooking
	5:00 to 5:45	Recreation Study Group
	7:30 to 10:00	Folk Dance Class
Tuesday	9:30 to 10:30	"Psychology About Ourselves"
	10:30 to 11:30	"Our Times, Recent American History"
	1:30 to 5:00	Art for Fun
	5:00 to 5:45	Lecture, "History of Art"
	7:30 to 10:00	Art for Fun
Wednesday	9:30 to 10:30	Literature
	9:00 to 11:00	Hike and Nature Study
	1:30 to 5:00	Basket Weaving, Rug Making, etc.
	5:00 to 5:45	Lecture, "Biography"
Thursday	9:30 to 11:30	Journalism
	1:30 to 3:30	Architecture; Sewing
	7:30 to 10:00	Drama
Friday	9:30 to 11:30	Architecture
	1:30 to 3:30	Interior Decorating
	Evening	Open HOuse
Saturday	Special	Classes
Sunday	8:00 to 9:00	p.m. Music Appreciation.[102]

For the winter term the staff consisted of Aage Møller, who had been principal of the Nysted, Nebraska, Danish-American folk high school. He had served longer than any other folk high school principal in the United States. Miss Helga Kjersgaard was the cook for the school. Miss Ellen Paulsen was listed as teacher of gymnastics and folk dances of Denmark and Mrs. Margaret Graham was to teach folk dances from other countries. Graham was to give special lectures on "Immigrant Races in America" and it was indicated that he was interested in the study of social, economic, and political problems. Some fourteen other special lecturers and teachers were listed in the special bulletin for the winter session.[103] According to Andreasen, the American students took little interest in gymnastics but did like the folk dancing. Andreasen observed that at Ashland "Grundtvig's philosophy is followed without superimposing his pattern of a folk school on the American people."[104]

Myles Horton studied with Reinhold Niebuhr for a year at Union Theological Seminary. After that he tranferred to the Univeristy of Chicago, where he studied sociology. During his study at Chicago he began to develop his idea for a folk education center in rural Tennessee. MacLean reports that at a Danish folk dance in a Chicago church Horton was told, "What you want is a folk school like the ones in Denmark."[105] He went to Denmark for a year to study the folk high schools, but concluded they did not provide the pattern for his intended center.

On his return to the United States and with the aid of Don West he established in 1932 the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. Dr. Lillian W. Johnson, a liberal Southerner, donated the land and building for the school. West left at the end of the first year;[106] today he directs the Appalachian South Folklife Center in Pipestem, West Virginia.

While Klein and Schacht claim that "Horton disclaims any attempt to transplant the Danish folk school to American life,"[107] Andreasen makes a somewhat different analysis. He stated in 1936 that "in [the Highlander Folk School], the *form* of the Grundtvigian folk high school has been retained, while it has been emptied of its content."[108] No doubt Horton would agree with the observation about *content*. If Grundtvig's idea is reduced to the concept of "residential adult education," then this *form* would reasonably apply to the Highlander Folk School program, at least during the early years.

The school was concerned with problems of labor organization and later with problems of integration until it was forced to close[109] in 1959. The pattern of instruction which evolved was that of workshops for leaders of various groups, such as industrial and farm unions, cooperatives, and religious and interracial groups.[110] The school also provided field service and intensive community programs. The workshops were set up on specific request of organizations or individuals. They made use of small discussion groups and resource persons and lasted from a few days to a month.[111] The influence of the school during its existence, and its continuation at Highlander Center, outside of Knoxville, Tennessee, are assessed in chapter 11. We may note, however, that the song "We shall Overcome," written at Highlander, is symbolic of the influence of the school. The 1963 Highlander folder states:

> And always—at every Highlander workshop—there is singing and the learning how to lead singing. For 31 years, songs for freedom have been a vital part of Highlander's "curriculum." It is no accident that the "Marseillaise" of the integration movement, WE SHALL OVERCOME, was first taught to students at the Highlander Folk School.[112]

The geneology of "We Shall Overcome" shows the evolution of the song from its cultural roots as a Negro spiritual:

> Symbolic of Highlander's breadth of influence is the song, "We Shall Overcome," now the theme song of the freedom movement throughout the nation. Originally a Negro spiritual, then a Baptist

> hymn, it was used by tobacco workers on strike in the 40's. Highlander's leaders learned it from the strikers, composed new words and music arrangement, taught it to Highlander students, and finally to the young people who let the 1960 sit-ins, from which it spread over the nation.[113]

The emphasis on song at Highlander may perhaps be an example of Grundtvigian inspiration. However, the school does not feel that the song "We Shall Overcome" is Highlander's greatest memorial. That memorial is, instead, "the fact that there are today all across the South people who tell you that a weekend visit to this school changed their lives and set them to working more effectively to change their world."[114]

Residential Adult Education. Andreasen suggested in 1936 that the Highlander Folk School had the *form* of the Grundtvigian folk high school, but not the *content*.[115] However, the idea of "residential adult education" seems to be a more appropriate and generally understood description today as one important facet of Grundtvig's folk high school idea.

When Dr. Harold R. W. Benjamin served as Minnesota's state director of adult education during 1933-1934, he went to Denmark to study the Danish folk high schools. After his return, he presented to Dr. Lotus D. Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota, his idea for a continuation center for residential adult education. In 1936 the Minnesota center was built and Benjamin served as its first director from 1936 to 1937. The center is now known as the Julius M. Nolte Center of Continuation Studies.[116] In 1969 there were 119 residential continuing education centers in the United States and 39 more under construction or acquisition. Worldwide, the total reported was 265 centers and 42 under construction or acquisition.[117]

Schacht reports in his dissertation that a group of adult educators interested in residential adult education met in New York City in May 1953. They were concerned "about short-comings of adult education as they had ovserved it" and wished to "ascertain if certain elements of the Grundtvig influence on Danish education might be incorporated into adult education in the United States."[118] A second meeting was held on June 19, 1953, and a proposal to found "the Grundtvig Association" was made. However, plans did not materialize. But as a direct result of the meeting a petition was made to the Adult Education Association of the United States for a work group on residential adult schools at its 1953 national conference.

At the 1953 meeting Myles Horton proposed a list of criteria to define residential adult education and at the 1954 meeting the committee used his suggestions as a basis for the following final list of criteria proposed to define residential adult education:

1. Primarily noncredit; where credit is not a requirement.
2. Primarily nonvocational.
3. Students must be in residence for a minimum of one night.

4. Must be operated by an organization whose purpose is primarily broadly educational rather than promotional.

5. Group must be small enough so that, within the term of the school, it is possible to develop a common feeling of identity among the participants.

6. Complete freedom of expression.

7. Respect for the dignity and worth of the individual regardless of color or creed.

8. Must be concerned with development of the whole person.[119]

In his essay on *The Residential School in American Adult Education*,[120] Pitkin gives the following credit to the influence of the Danish folk high schools: "Although the idea of adults coming together in a residential situation for the purposes of learning is very much a part of the American tradition, it received great impetus from the Danish Folk High Schools."[121] In regard to the influence of the Danish-American folk high school, Pitkin states that: "[The Danish-American folk-high schools] established the idea of residential adult education in America. Perhaps, however, the influence of the Folk School movement has been greater as a result of visits to Denmark by Americans than by the existence of Danish folk schools in this country."[122]

Alford's doctoral study traces the development of the idea of residential adult education from the Danish folk high school to the residential center for continuing education.[123] He concludes that residential adult eduation has been a flexible concept which has been adapted to the changing needs of particular socieies and cultures. In Alford's words:

> The history of redisentia adult education, from its role in the rejuvenation of a dying nineteenth century Denmark to its part in the birth of the emerging nations of a twentieth century Africa, exemplifies the richness and diversity of an institution that at many times and in many localities has represented the response of innovative individuals to the educative needs of particular societies and cultures.[124]

In a prophetic way, in words that Grundtvig might have uttered if he were alive today, Alford has sounded a call for residential adult education today: "To assist mankind, through continuing education, in the terribly urgent search for sufficient knowledge and wisdom to preserve and improve himself and his habitat."[125]

NOTES

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23. P. S. Vig, "A Brief Sketch of My Life as Preparation for the Ministry," in *Recollections of Our Church Work, (1827-1927)* (Blair, Neb.: Danish Lutheran Publishing House, 1930), p. 231.

24. Mortensen, *Stories*, p. 88.

25. Ibid.; Nyholm, *Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Church*, p. 263.

26. Nyholm, *Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Church*, p. 263.

27. Ibid.

28. Mortensen, *Stories*, p. 88.

29. Nyholm, *Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Church*, p. 263.

30. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 85.

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32. Ibid.

33. J. C. Bay, "The Folk High Schools and Rural Life of the Scandinavian Countries," in *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Conference for Education in the South, Jacksonville, Florida* (Knoxville, Tenn.: The Conference, 1911), pp. 161-71; also distributed as a reprint by the author.

34. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 86.

35. Ibid.

36. Mortensen, *Stories*, pp. 88-89.

37. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 86.

38. Ibid., p. 87.

39. Andreasen, "Grundtvig as an Educator," p. 81.

40. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 87.

41. Paulsen, *Danish-American Folk Traditions*, p. 267.

42. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 87.

43. Andreasen, "Grundtvig as an Educator," p. 81.

44. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, p. 87.

45. Among the "Danish" pastors, a return to Denmark was fairly common. Some went for a brief visit and others for a few years, as did Kristian Østergaard, who stayed in Denmark for seven years after he founded a folk high school there but then returned to the United states. Of the 268 pastors of the Danish Lutheran Church between 1871 and 1962, Mortensen reports that 65 returned to Denmark on the termination of their active ministry. This represents exactly one third of the 195 pastors of Danish birth. Of the total, 70 pastors were born in the United States and one each in Germany, Norway, and Sweden. Of the 76 congregations listed, 26 were classified as rural. Mortensen, *Danish Lutheran Church in America*, pp. 295-304.

46. Ibid., p. 87.

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The Work People's College and The American Labor College Movement

R. J. Altenbaugh and R.G. Paulston

Introduction

The emergence of workers' education, i.e., efforts by working-class organizations to establish and control their own educational programs, first took place around the turn of the century in Great Britain and Scandinavia. After World War I the idea crossed the Atlantic and during the 1920s and 1930s the American labor college movement flourished with the appearance of over three hundred worker-controlled "colleges."[1]

In attempts to explain the origins, programs, and contributions of these autonomous U.S. educational institutions, a number of writers and scholars have stressed the Anglo nexus. Such British experiences as Ruskin College (1899), the Workers' Educational Association (1903), and the National Council of Labor Colleges (1921) have been seen as the most formative precursors of the American workers' education movement.

While British influence has been unquestionably important, we would argue that contributions from other areas have all too often been neglected. Influences from German socialism, for example, on workers' education in the Jewish-American community have been extensive and formative—but little studied.[2] In like manner, the Scandinavian models that were imported and adapted by the American Scandinavian and Finnish communities, have also been largely ignored.

In this paper we will examine the Work People's College, one of these institutions where the Scandinavian inheritance first loomed large. It later faded as the Industrial Workers of the World bought the college and used it in their unsuccessful struggle for a socialist America. We will first note how Finnish immigrants sought to create a folk high school or residential school for young adults modeled along Scandinavian lines. We will then briefly compare Work People's College with several other workers' colleges and assess something of its contribution to the overall labor college movement. This task will be accomplished, first, by exploring workers' education in Finland during the early years of the twentieth century in order to establish the workers' education heritage of the Finns. Second, the sources, purposes, programs, achievements, and outcomes of Work People's College in northern Minnesota will be described. Third, Work People's College will be compared and contrasted with two well-known American labor colleges, Brookwood Labor College in New York and Commonwealth Labor College in Arkansas, to determine the significance, if any, of the Finnish contribution to the American workers' education experience.

Workers' Education in Finland

Workers' education began in Finland in 1899—the same year as the creation of Ruskin College in England—with the development of the Workers' Institute. Organized by the Finnish labor movement, the school functioned "to spread intellectual and moral enlightenment among the broad masses."[3] Although supposedly founded to benefit the Finnish working class, the Institute eschewed radical political ideology by serving broad educational goals. It achieved considerable success, and by the late 1920s some forty Institutes had been built throughout the urban centers of Finland. Helsinki claimed the largest enrollment with six thousand members.[4] The classes, which were held in the evening, included courses in the "social sciences, public speaking, practical writing and arithmetic, the history and language of Finland."[5]

Founded in 1919, the Workers' Educational Federation (WEF) sought to disseminate "social education among the masses by means of study circles, lecture courses, libraries," and correspondence courses. The WEF received widespread popular support from eighteen national organizations, such as the Social Democratic party and the Trade Union Federation of Finland, with a total of 430,000 members.[6] Moreover, by 1928 the WEF claimed 342 study circles which served 4,462 students in the rural regions of Finland.[7] The course offerings of the WEF closely paralleled those of the Workers' Institute, but the WEF also provided a course in the history of socialism. Thus, unlike the Institute, the WEF did not exclude radical ideology from its curriculum.

In 1924 the labor movement founded the Workers' Academy, a residential folk high school for labor students near Helsinki. With more specific and radical goals than the Workers' Institute and the WEF, the Academy aimed "to equip intellectually active worker students for responsible offices in the important workers' movements—the trade unions, the socialist party, the cooperatives, the workers' education movement, and for governmental and public functions."[8] The students, generally in their twenties, came exclusively from working-class families. The Academy's program offered four divisions: social-political sciences; natural sciences; humanistic studies; and practical subjects. The social-political sciences track contained labor legislation, trade unionism, the Finnish labor movement, and political economy as courses while the practical subjects included the Finnish language, public speaking, and bookkeeping.[9]

Overall, workers' education in Finland was diverse and successful. On the one hand, the Workers' Institute and the WEF fostered educational goals with a broad program and thereby fulfilled many intellectual needs of urban and rural Finns. The Workers' Academy, on the other hand, adhered to social aims and trained working-class students for leadership roles in the Finnish labor movement.

Work People's College

Although Finns settled along the Delaware early in the colonial era, Finnish migration to the United States remained low until the Russian army began to draft Finns in 1900. While only thirty-five hundred Finns emigrated to America in 1898, for example, over twenty-three thousand fled Finland in 1902.[10] "These refugees, draft resistors among them, included liberals as well as socialists, intellectuals as well as workers."[11] Russian suppression of the 1905 general strike in Finland, which protested Russian rule, and the 1906 Viapori rebellion caused a second wave of Finnish radicals to escape to the United States.

> They represented the "new left" in European socialism: the post-1905 radicalism that had little confidence in the electoral process and none in winning socialism through gradual reform. They brought to American and into the Finnish American socialist movement a conviction that only some form of workers' revolutionary action, and not socialist politics alone, could establish socialism.[12]

Leo Laukki and Yrjo Sirola, pursued by the Czarist police because of their respective participation in the Viapori uprising and general strike, were among this group of militant Finns who on arrival in the United States immediately became involved in American radical movements and in workers' education.[13] For these and many other Finnish immigrants, "socialism was . . . a child of the Old Country. Both its content and its leadership came from Finland."[14] Thus, when the Finns encountered low pay, long hours, irregular employment, and dangerous job conditions in the mining regions of the upper Midwest and an ineffectual American Federation of Labor which barred unskilled immigrant workers from membership, they created the Finnish Socialist Federation, which "became the American Socialist Party's first foreign language federation."[15] In fact, the Finnish Socialist Federation became the model for some 20 other language federations within the Socialist party by developing into the largest and most powerful group.[16] In 1906, for instance, the Finnish language federation claimed 29 local chapters with 2,450 members. By 1912, this total had increased to 225 locals and 11,000 members. "At that date, the organization included four newspapers, the Work People's College with 123 students, 76 club houses, 80 libraries, and a combined income of $184,128.83, coupled with an overall valuation of $558,201.14."[17] Indeed, the radical Finns not only represented a formidable force within the American socialist movement, but they also made a major impact on the American workers' education movement with the formation of Work People's College.

In September 1903, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran National Church sponsored the founding of a folk high school—originally located in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and later moved to better facilities in Duluth—in order to teach Finnish immigrants religion, Finnish culture, and nationalism.[18] The school received financial support from stock sold to Finnish shareholders for one dollar apiece. A board of directors consisting of lay members and church officials controlled the secular aspects of the school while the church supervised the school's theological seminary. The clerics, who were anti-socialist, and the socialists, who were anticlerical, continually vied for absolute control over the school. Meanwhile, the majority of the students came from Finnish Socialist homes.[19] The students, most of whom were in their late twenties, resented the religious restrictions and courses imposed upon them by the church and, as a result, led a strike to protest the "oppressive" nature of the school in 1904.[20] Conflicts over religion caused classes to be cancelled in 1905. Finally, two years later, Finnish socialists obtained a majority of the stock and assumed complete authority over the school and its board of directors in 1907.

The socialists changed the school's outlook, reorganized the program, and renamed it Work People's College. Since a large percentage of the Finns had little or no formal education, the college's first goal was to provide "basic educational skills, especially in the use of the English language." Second, the Finnish socialist community hoped "to develop its own internal leadership, especially editors, teachers, and agitators."[21] The new curriculum, which stressed the social sciences, contained history, economics, sociology, geography, bookkeeping, history of socialism, Darwinian evolution, English, Finnish, public speaking, and journalism. The school also furnished an English correspondence course for nonresident students.[22] The socialists, therefore, promoted the social democratic ideology and cultivated "the growth of class-consciousness" in response to the "school of Morgan and Rockefeller," as the radical Finns "were fond of calling American capitalism."[23] Leo Laukki joined the teaching staff and later became director. With 42 students and two instructors, the 1908 school year, for a change, proceeded smoothly. By the 1913-1914 academic year, the college enrolled 157 students, employed 8 instructors, and expanded its facilities into a second building.[24] Yet, this success did not prevent Work People's College from experiencing another ideological shift.

In 1914, Finnish socialists experienced the same internal political turmoil and organizational fragmentation as the American Socialist party experienced in 1912. As a result, practically all of the Minnesota Finnish socialists resigned or were released from the Federation, and they subsequently affiliated directly or indirectly with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and supported its goal of uniting all workers into "One Big Union."[25] Along with many midwestern Finns and the radical socialists, the folk college after 1914 supported the IWW principles of "revolutionary unionism, direct action, sabotage, and the general strike" rather than parliamentary socialism as the means of ameliorating working-class problems.[26] Most Eastern Finns and moderate socialists elected to remain in the American Socialist party.

Work People's College shifted leftward to industrial unionism largely under the leadership of Leo Laukki and Yrjo Sirola, who taught at the school and strongly embraced the IWW precepts. With the arrest and imprisonment of Laukki in 1917 as part of the Chicago 166, the school's attendance faltered and eventually dropped to 53 students in 1919.[27] Laukki ultimately skipped bail when he left the United States, with Sirola, to participate in the Bolshevik takeover in Russia. When the IWW recognized the Work People's College in 1921 as its official school, enrollment increased to 70 students.[28]

The Work People's College "Announcement of Courses" for the 1923-1924 year delineated the school's revolutionary orientation and adherence to IWW goals:

> This school recognizes the existence of class struggle in society, and its courses of study have been prepared so that industrially organized workers, both men and women, dissatisfied with conditions under our capitalist system, can more efficiently carry on an organized class struggle for the attainment of industrial demands, and ultimately the realization of a new social order.[29]

These principles remained in effect for the next twenty years of the school's life.

As a people's college, the school fashioned its program to fulfill the IWW outlook by offering academic subjects such as the materialistic conception of history, with several texts by Marx and Engels; history of the labor movement in the United States; the motives of social activity; economic theory; modern industry; industrial geography; evolutionary biology; and elementary and advanced arithmetic. Practical courses consisted of public speaking, which prepared students to "lecture on subjects of propaganda value." Debating argued important labor questions, such as the importance of "industrial unionism." Reporting and editing gave students firsthand experience in "writing news articles on local events, editorials, and essays on important matters in the labor movement." IWW papers and journals often published the best student articles, while the college used IWW literature throughout its program. Elementary and advanced bookkeeping prepared students to maintain the financial records of IWW locals.[30] Typing represented an important tool for potential IWW organizers because it could be used to prepare leaflets or other forms of communication.[31] Spelling and English grammar functioned as basic courses for less literate students. The college also attempted to develop its own instructors by instituting a teacher training program during special summer sessions held at the school.[32]

In addition, Work People's College had scripts for some two hundred plays and furnished an active play-rental service.[33] Rosa Knuuti, an instructor, has explained how drama served a twofold purpose: "The theatre to my mind is a means to an end. Classified as art, it concerns itself in providing entertainment; as propaganda, it provides something to think about."[34] For Knuuti, bourgeois plays romanticized working-class life by portraying a friendly relationship between labor and capital. In this way, entertainment served as subtle propaganda. Knuuti, however, saw the need for workers' plays which exposed the drab existence and harsh realities of working-class life. Consequently, labor dramas would supply thought-provoking entertainment framed in class-conflict assumptions.[35]

While all the courses were elective, students were required to follow a fairly rigorous schedule which included twenty class hours a week. According to Clifford Ellis, another teacher at the college, the school day began at eight o'clock in the morning and continued until noon. Students spent the remainder of the day in debates or in the school library.[36] Students also influenced educational matters through recommendations made to the board of directors at the Friday night business meetings.[37]

Enrollment generally fluctuated between fifty and seventy students during the 1920s and early 1930s.[38] The students included miners from the Mesabi Range, Western lumberjacks, migrant farmers, kitchenmaids, Eastern textile workers, sheepherders, craftsmen, and cowboys.[39] Moreover, after its affiliation with the IWW in 1921, Work People's College began to admit many non-Finnish students and the school lost much of its ethnic character.

Thus, as early as 1907, the Finns, using a folk high school model, established a viable example of workers' education in the United States. In spite of turmoil and conflict, the school addressed many of the educational and social needs of the Finnish-American workers by providing a radical ideology and curriculum. Moreover, when Work People's College became formally affiliated with the IWW in 1921, it addressed the need for national reforms and served non-Finnish students as well.

The American Labor College Movement

While public schools in theory provided opportunity for social mobility through education, the majority of American working-class children in fact could not attend school for long. A 1912 survey of children employed in factories reported that instead of attending school, most children worked in order to contribute to the economic welfare of their families. Their fathers earned low wages, were unemployed or incapacitated, or worse yet, dead because of a job-related accident.[40] As a consequence, some "65 percent of the children in the common schools in 1914 dropped out by the end of the fifth or sixth grade."[41] Nor did the vocational education movement which was heavily promoted during this period, do much to relieve this situation. Rather, this educational experience further limited social mobility for these students because when they graduated or dropped out, they were only equipped with working-class skills, which earned them, at best, a working-class job.[42] Thus, as Katz argues, the public schools "did not alleviate poverty" or "significantly alter the social structure."[43]

Formed in 1886 as a confederation of craft unions and representing the largest labor organization in the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century, the American Federation of Labor recruited only skilled workers. As a conservative and elite worker organization, the AFL also inhibited social progress for the majority of the workers because it excluded the women, blacks, and immigrants who dominated the unskilled ranks of American labor and constituted the majority of workers.[44] In 1920, for example, scarcely 19 percent of the twenty-six million total wage earners could claim membership in some type of labor organization,[45] and the AFL accounted for only a small portion of this percentage.

Working-class frustration with restrictions on social and economic mobility did much to generate the Socialist party of America in 1901. According to Eugene V. Debs, the organization's foremost spokesman, the Party stood "for abolition of the wage system . . . for the collective ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution and the operation of industry in the interest of all."[46] The Party attempted to reach its radical goals through the electoral process and it achieved considerable success in its endeavors. In the 1912 election, Debs obtained 6 percent of the total presidential vote. Concurrently, Socialist party candidates controlled a record number of public offices with "some 1,200 in 340 municipalities from coast to coast, among them 79 mayors in 24 states."[47] The Russian revolution, however, ended any hope of socialist electoral appeal to the American public.

Many socialists redirected their efforts to the American labor college movement, which blossomed during the 1920s. While numerous labor colleges existed, Brookwood Labor College, founded in 1921 in Katonah, New York, and Commonwealth College, organized in 1925 near Mena, Arkansas, typified the largest, most prominent, and most durable examples of the labor college movement. Many subsequent schools, such as the Seattle Labor College, either attempted to replicate Brookwood or were actually its offshoots.[48] A. J. Muste of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America, James H. Maurer, socialist president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and Kate Richards O'Hare, Socialist vice-presidential candidate in 1920 with Debs, represented the more prominent radicals responsible for the creation of Brookwood and Commonwealth.

Except for the ethnic influence of the Finns, the conditions which bred the American labor college movement were not unlike the circumstances that produced Work People's College. That is, educational deficiencies in the public schools, dissatisfaction with organized labor, and social discontent all contributed to the creation of Work People's College, Brookwood Labor College, and Commonwealth College. These concerns are clearly present in the 1932-1933 *Brookwood Bulletin*, where this labor college states its goals:

> Brookwood thinks of itself as a part of the labor movement of America and of the world. Brookwood thinks of the labor movement both as a practical instrument by which workers achieve higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work, and as a great social force having as its ultimate goal the good life for all men in a social order free from exploitation and based upon control by the workers . . . . Brookwood frankly aims to inspire and train its students for activity in a militant labor movement.[49]

In a 1934 article which appeared in *Progressive Education*, Lucien Koch, director of Commonwealth, summarized its goals as "educating leaders for a new society."[50] In both statements the socialist influence is evident. Like Work People's College, Brookwood and Commonwealth also strove for the establishment of a new social order and sought to train militant and effective labor organizers and leaders. These schools, in marked contrast to most American colleges, sought to facilitate basic social change advantageous to the working class.

The labor college program, as with Work People's College, clearly reflected the ideals and goals of socialist reformers. For resident students, Brookwood provided a one-year course which consisted of American history; history of the American labor movement and trade union organizaton; foreign labor history; modern industry; advanced economics; labor journalism; public speaking; workers' education; preparation for field work; labor drama; and psychology.[51] The second-year course was open to Brookwood students who had completed their first year of studies and regular college students interested in workers' education or "desirous of training in labor history, trade unions, etc., in a labor school."[52] Rather than a regular classroom format, the second-year students met individually with instructors or participated in group conferences or seminars. For nonresident students, Brookwood offered short courses, summer sessions, extension programs, and a variety of publications. Commonwealth's three-year program emphasized four major areas "grouped around workers' education, labor economics, labor journalism, or labor law."[53] In general, then, the ideological emphasis as well as the course offerings of Brookwood and Commonwealth closely paralleled the Work People's College program. As in Scandinavian folk high schools, these people's colleges gave no degrees or grades to their students. In contrast to Work People's College, however, the majority of Brookwood and Commonwealth instructors were college graduates.[54]

Brookwood and Commonwealth also placed great emphasis on labor dramas. The students performed their own compositions or produced plays written by professional playwrights.[55] As outlined by A. J. Muste, director of Brookwood, the play served several functions:

> It may be a means of self-expression, making the Labor Movement more vital to the workers themselves; it may interpret the Labor Movement for the public in more sympathetic and appealing terms than abstract reasoning can do; it may be a means of entertainment, particularly in isolated regions where the pool room and the blind tiger are the only means of diversion.[56]

The students staged their dramas for other students at the schools and for workers in union halls. Brookwood students even managed to present a play on Broadway.[57] As might be expected, Muste's views of workers' plays did not differ substantially from Rosa Knuut's perceptions at Work People's College.

Course loads and teaching methods did vary considerably among the schools. While Brookwood placed no restrictions on course load, its *Bulletin* stipulated that each student had to contribute ten hours of work a week to the school community by doing "repair work, house cleaning, dishwashing, waiting on table(s), clerical and library assistance."[58] A student work committee assigned the various duties. Commonwealth, in contrast, limited course work to twelve hours per week while requiring twenty hours of work.[59] William Cunningham, a Commonwealth teacher, described a typical day at the school consisting of classroom work from 7:30 a.m. until lunchtime: "At one o'clock the dishwashing crew is doing the dinner things, the laundry crew has a fire built under its water heater, the wood crew is trudging toward the timber with axes and saws in hand, the carpenter crew is climbing a scaffolding, the office crew is pounding out answers to letters of inquiry from all over the world."[60] The work routine, both at Brookwood and Commonwealth, formed an integral part of the educational process, and lessons often continued while teachers and students chopped wood or washed dishes together. In the evenings students often gathered at the instructor's cottage or room to pursue their studies or share their experiences and dreams for a new society founded on social justice.[61]

In contrast to Work People's College, Brookwood and Commonwealth encouraged students to organize and to participate in off-campus strike activities as part of their educational experience. For example, some Brookwood students and teachers became involved in the long and brutal Marion, North Carolina, textile strike of 1929.[62] "In August 1934," a Commonwealth instructor "went to Corinth, Mississippi, with three student apprentices, in a response to a telegram from an Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union official pleading for organizers."[63]

Brookwood and Commonwealth students, like their counterparts at Work People's College, actively participated in school affairs. Brookwood students not only elected two representatives to the school's nineteen member board of directors, but also maintained a seat on the school's executive committee. They assumed responsibility for "student discipline, controlled student activities, and exercised advisory powers in educational matters."[64] After two years, Commonwealth students became members of the Commonwealth College Association, which "owned and controlled the college property."[65]

The labor college libraries were well stocked with socialist literature and served important roles. The Commonwealth library, for instance, contained some eight thousand volumes, which included a "vast collection of labor, sociological and economic digests, texts, and other works."[66] In addition, Commonwealth boasted of its "Museum of Social Change," which demonstrated the oppressive relationship between the capitalists and the working class through the display of "tear-gas bombs and bloody lynch ropes, and depression clothing made of old sacking."[67]

Brookwood and Commonwealth, like Work People's College, constructed their programs in deference to the precepts of the schools and the background of the students. To ensure a low teacher-student ratio, enrollment seldom exceeded sixty students. Students were generally in their twenties, from families of industrial laborers, farmers, or miners, and brought experiences and viewpoints from different parts of the country and the world.[68] As might be expected, most labor college students had little formal schooling. Over 50 percent of the 1927 Brookwood class, for example, had only completed the eighth grade.[69]

Although Brookwood and Commonwealth offered a more elaborate program than Work People's College, the programs for all three schools were more similar than dissimilar. That is, these labor colleges fashioned their programs to fit their ideals. The academic subjects, dramas, strike activities, libraries, and other adjuncts, such as Commonwealth's museum, all depicted the deplorable conditions of the American working class as a direct consequence of the monopoly capitalist system. While these programs sought first to raise the critical awareness of working-class youth, they also attempted to provide each student with the tools necessary to work toward improving the social condition of the working class through collective struggle. Here democratic settings encouraged a cooperative feeling which transferred to the development of fraternal attitudes among workers who belonged to a common union and to a radically new social arrangement. The liberals' goals of liberty and equality were not enough. For a workers' society, fraternity or community would also be essential.

Achievements of the Labor Colleges

During its existence, Work People's College attained considerable success. It supplied thousands of graduates who became "active in the political, union, and cooperative efforts" of the Finns as "organizers, newspapermen, speakers, and propagandists for the Finnish industrial union movement."[70] John Viita, for example, was an important editor of *Socialisti,* and later *Tymies,* and offered outstanding leadership in the Finnish-American movement. He was trained at the school along with others who offered direction to the IWW movement, such as August Wesley, Gust Aakula, Ivar Vapaa, George Humon, Fred Jaakkola, Matti Kainu, and Jack Ujanen.[71] Thus, Work People's College not only grew from the Marxist inspiration and leadership which came from Finland, but it also sought to supplement it by developing new leaders in the United States.[72]

Brookwood graduates, likewise, served important roles in the labor movement. "In the course of more than 15 years of activity, Brookwood trained 500 persons" who occupied responsible positions in labor and social movements as organizers, business agents, labor journalists, union officials, and labor educators.[73] Some of the more specific careers of Brookwood graduates included "two Reuther Brothers, Victor and Roy, Julius Hochman, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Rose Pessota, an ILGWU organizer active in the Akron sit-downs, and Clinton S. Golden, who with other Brookwood graduates was active in the founding of the Steelworkers union."[74] Frank Winn and Nat Weinburg, other Brookwood graduates, worked with the Reuthers in their UAW campaigns of the late 1930s and early 1940s.[75] Moreover, "Brookwood trained an impressive number of people who played a leading role in the founding of the Congress of Industrial Organizations."[76]

The November 15, 1932, issue of the *Commonwealth Fortnightly* reported that activities of former students included organization of a workers' theater, work at Hull House in Chicago, and participation in councils and demonstrations of the unemployed, hunger marches, and farmers' movements. The article concluded by stating: "In many instances besides the above, Commonwealth learns that its former students are working for the cause of the common people in the spheres of activity where they can be of most use to the labor movement."[77] Certainly this represents only a small sample of the many labor college graduates, but even the accomplishments of these few students cannot be denied. Clearly, the labor college program, as initiated by Work People's College, produced graduates who became active in the American labor movement's successful struggle for industrial unions and collective bargining. It is equally clear that the labor college movement failed in its larger goals of social reconstruction and the creation of a socialist America.

The Fate of the Schools

Because of its links with the Finnish ethnic community and the IWW, the fate of Work People's College became inextricably enmeshed with these two groups. When the IWW opposed American participation in World War I, government officials, along with many citizen groups consisting of local businessmen, continually harassed IWW locals and their leaders. Finally, with the mass arrest of 166 IWW leaders in 1917, the political appeal of the IWW and of Work People's College began to decline during the 1920s. The rapid acculturation of the Finns during this same period caused further problems for the school. Put simply, second-generation, English-speaking Finns were not attracted to Work People's College. They preferred to attend the American public schools instead of a radical folk high school for immigrants. Also, younger Finns avoided Work People's College because they "were often deeply ashamed of their immigrant parents' radicalism."[78] Nonetheless, Work People's College died stubbornly. Although the school ceased operations in 1940, the board of directors continued to maintain the school's financial assets until 1963, "when all of the college funds were finally dispersed."[79]

Outraged over criticisms by Brookwood of the complacent attitude and weak actions of the American Federation of Labor, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the AFL and acting president of the National Civic Federation, bitterly denounced Brookwood as a Communist institution during the 1928 AFL Convention held in New Orleans. The charges were made in spite of the fact that only one Brookwood instructor, Arthur Calhoun, was considered a Communist. The accusations became further exaggerated when Brookwood's antagonists labeled the school as "antireligious" and a "free love colony." The AFL Executive Council handled the case in an unscrupulous and high-handed manner since Brookwood was not forwarned of the charges, allowed access to the incriminating evidence, nor given an opportunity to refute the accusations. John Dewey, a progressive educator, sharply criticized Woll and the AFL for their underhanded actions, but to little avail.[80] In the ensuing conflict, Brookwood lost much prestige and the school also suffered the withdrawal of funds and support by unions affiliated with the AFL.[81] In 1932, because of a financial crisis at the college, Brookwood reduced its staff and student body and cut back its extension program. Its demise was predictable. John Dewey, Sinclair Lewis, and others solicited donations for Brookwod through an article which appeared in the *Nation*.[82] However, it proved to be too little and too late. While Brookwood somehow managed to survive until 1937, its effectiveness had sharply declined.

Commonwealth also experienced many attacks from a variety of conservative opponents. The first onslaught occurred as early as 1926 when the Arkansas American Legion accused the college of affiliating with Communists and receiving secret donations from the Soviet Union. With the help of the Arkansas Federation of Labor and J. Edgar Hoover's disclaimer of the Soviet connection, Commonwealth successfully weathered this first storm.[83] In 1935 and in 1937 Commonwealth became the subject of investigations by the Arkansas legislature. A Baptist minister, the Ku Klu Klan, and employers opposed to Commonwealth's support of union organizing activities persuaded the legislature to initiate these inquiries. Accused of seditious activity, sexual perversion, and godlessness, Commonwealth only endured because of the outspoken intervention of such notables as Jane Addams and H. L. Mencken.[84] Fortunately, Commonwealth "continued to receive donations from such supporters as . . . Harvard's Law Dean Roscoe Pound and economist Sumner Schlicter, labor historian John Commons, H. L. Mencken, John Dewey, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, and Albert Einstein."[85] Yet, constant harassment by anti-Communist and antilabor elements finally forced Commonwealth to close in 1941 on blatantly false charges of prominently exhibiting the unlawful symbol of a hammer and sickle, disseminating propaganda which encouraged the overthrow of the United States Government, and not displaying the American flag on campus.[86]

Conclusions

The folk high school traditions and the radical orientation of many Finnish immigrants precipitated Work People's College, a forerunner of the American labor college movement. With a purpose and program similar to Brookwood and Commonwealth, Work People's College reached its apex when the American workers' education movement was just beginning. Indeed, by the late 1920s, Work People's College symbolized "one of the oldest workers' educational enterprises in America."[87] Moreover, the college trained labor leaders and activists almost fifteen years before Brookwood and Commonwealth were even conceived. Finally, the fact that Work People's College survived longer than did its counterparts further attests to its significance and vitality. The Finns, drawing upon the Scandinavian "fighting" folk high school model, recreated this pattern of workers' education in the more radical wing of the U.S. labor movement.[88]

What can be learned from this experience? Quite simply, nonformal education which effectively opposes the prevailing social groups will not be tolerated in the United States, no matter what amount of political freedom is claimed to exist. This was demonstrated by the fact that the ideological foundation of each of these schools suffered direct attack. Leo Laukki, the director of Work People's College, was arrested and convicted in 1917 along with 165 other IWW leaders. Work People's College had flourished to this point. Thereafter its popularity and enrollment gradually receded. Brookwood likewise received irreparable harm from the AFL's star-chamber tactics. Again, Brookwood had achieved some success and planned a $2 million expansion of its facilities when the Federation's attack occurred.[89]

In summation, the political damage that Work People's College experienced in 1917 should have been fair warning to the founders and supporters of Brookwood and Commonwealth that when relatively autonomous schools of this type are young and not too successful, they may be tolerated, but when the schools mature, achieve some success, and plan to expand their activities, they threaten the economic and social elite. The solution is simple: destroy the schools and/or the ideology that they stand for. In marked contrast, labor movement folk high schools created in Scandinavia with grudging financial assistance from Conservative governments before and after World War I continue to operate with state support. While these Scandinavian labor folk high schools are now more concerned with defending and extending labor privilege than as earlier with injustice and class struggle, their survival says a good deal about the quality of Scandinavian societies and of their concern for cooperation, participation, and democratic processes.

NOTES

1. Richard Dwyer, "Workers' Education, Labor Education, Labor Studies: An Historical Delineation," *Review of Educational Research* 47 (1977):180. See also Marius Hansome, *World Workers' Educational Movements: Their Social Significance* (1931; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1968), p.492; Dagmar Schultz, "The Changing Political Nature of Workers' Education: A Case Study of the Wisconsin School for Workers" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1972), p.16; and Frank Adams, *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander* (Winston-Salem: N.C. John F. Blair Publishing, 1975).

2. See, for example, N. Levin, *Jewish Socialist Movements: 1877-1917* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977); I. Frank, "European Socialism and Jewish-American Worker Education" (Pittsburgh: International and Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1974); and R. G. Paulston, *Folk Schools in Social Change* (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1974).

3. Quoted in Hansome, *Workers' Educational Movements*, p.364.

4. Ibid., p.366.

5. Ibid., p.365.

6. Ibid., p.367.

7. Ibid., p.368.

8. Ibid., p.370.

9. Ibid., pp. 371-72.

10. Carl Ross, *The Finn Factor in American Labor, Culture and Society* (New York and Mills, Minnesota: Parta Printers, 1977), p.48.

11. Ibid., p.49.

12. Ibid., p.53.

13. Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., "From Socialism to Industrial Unionism (IWW): Social Factors in the Emergence of Left-Labor Radicalism Among Finnish Workers on the Mesabi, 1911-19," in *The Finnish Experience in the Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives*, eds. Michael G. Karni, Matti E. Kaups, and Douglas J. Ollila, Jr. (Turku, Finland: Institute for Migration, 1975), and Arthur E. Puotinen, "Early Labor Organizations in the Copper Country," in *For the Common Good: Finnish Immigrants and the Radical Response to Industrial America*, eds. Michael G. Karni et al. (Superior, Wisconsin: Tyomies Society, 1977), p. 146.

14. John I. Kolehmainen, "The Inimitable Marxists: The Finnish Immigrant Socialists," *Michigan History* 36 (1952):399.

15. Ibid., p.396. For a description of the harsh working conditions of the Finns see Ross, *Finn Factor*, pp. 109-11. Also, Ollila, *Socialism to Unionism*, p.157, makes a brief commentary about the relationship between the Finns and the AFL.

16. Arne Halonen, "The Role of Finnish-Americans in the Political Labor Movement" (Masters thesis, University of Minnesota, 1945), p.51.

17. Ollila, *Socialism to Unionism*, p.156.

18. Douglas J. Ollila, Jr., "The Work People's College: Immigrant Education for Adjustment and Solidarity," in *For the Common Good*, pp. 93-94. This effort to use folk high school programs in the maintenance of Finnish culture has a good deal in common with the Danish experiences described in chapter 9.

19. Ibid., p.94.

20. Ibid., p.97.

21. Ibid., pp. 102-106. William Hoglund, *Finnish Immigrants in America: 1880-1920* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), reveals that over one third of the students who attended the school in 1913 had no formal education.

22. Ollila, "Work Peopl's College," p.102; and Hansome, *Workers' Educational Movements*, p.208.

23. Ollila, "Work People's College," p.102; and Michael G. Karni, "The Founding of the Finnish Socialist Federation and the Minnesota Strike of 1907," in *For the Common Good*, p.82.

24. Ollila, "Work People's College," pp. 102-09.

25. Ollila, "Socialism to Unionism," p.157.

26. Ollila, "Work People's College," p.110.

27. William D. Haywood, *Big Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1974), p.363.

28. Ollila, "Work People's College," p.111. We might note that the Finnish Communist party's folk high school in central Finland is today named in honor of Sirola.

29. *Work People's College Announcement of Courses, 1923-23* (Duluth, Minnesota: work People's College, 1923), p. 2.

30. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

31. From a photocopy of a letter written on WPC letterhead by Fred W. Thompson, dated Dec. 1, 1929. (Obtained from Minnesota Historical Society.)

32. Kristen Svanum, "The Work People's College: Where Industrial Unionists are Efficiently Educated," *Industrial Pioneer* 2 (1925):48.

33. Gust Aakula, "Short Sketches of the Features of Tyçovçaen Opisto, Work People's College, Duluth, Minnesota." (Undated and unpub. manuscript obtained from the Duluth Public Library.) Gust was a former student, teacher, and secretary-treasurer of the school.

34. Rosa A. Knuuti, "The Workers' Play," *Industrial Pioneer* 3 (1925):26.

35. Ibid.

36. Clifford B. Ellis, "What Life Means to a Worker: The Story of the Past Winter Semester at the Work People's College," *Industrial Pioneer* 4 (1926):14-18.

37. Hansome, *Workers' Educational Movements*, pp. 211-12.

38. Ollila, "Work People's College," p.111.

39. Rosa Knuuti, "The Work People's College," *Industrial Pioneer* 1 (1921):60. Also, see Ellis, "What Life Means to a Worker," p.14.

40. Helen M. Todd, "Why Children Work: The Children's Answer," *McClure's Magazine* 40 (1912):69.

41. S. Alexander Rippa, *Education in a Free Society: An American History* (New York: David McKay Co., 1976), p. 159.

42. Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 121.

43. Ibid., p. 149.

44. Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black worker, 1619-1973* (New York: International Publishers, 1976), p. 82.

45. Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923* (1924; rpt. New York: Arno Press, 1975), p. 85.

46. Eugene V. Debs, *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, ed. Jean Y. Tussey (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972), p. 110.

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Highlander Folk School: Social Movements and Social Change in the American South

F. Adams

The idea of starting a school to serve oppressed people first struck Myles Horton when he was twenty-two, and then it held his imagination and dedication for life. In 1927, the summer before his senior year at Cumberland University, the Presbyterian Church sent Horton to Ozone, Tennessee, to organize daily vacation Bible schools. While much of the country was enjoying prosperity, Ozone's people were already deep in their own Great Depression. Greed's harvest had exploited and exhausted the natural supplies of timber and coal, and the people who did not leave the region faced extreme poverty and seemingly unending misery. Horton ran the Bible schools, but soon came to feel that memory verses, hymns, and games didn't have much real use in relation to the daily problems faced by the children or their hard-pressed parents.

Nor could Horton learn of *any* school program that was directly related to mountain people and their common problems. He decided to do something about the situation. He wasn't certain what to do, so he asked parents of children attending Bible classes to come to church at night to talk about their problems.

To his amazement, they came. Some would walk in the dusk several miles down the hollows knowing they would have to go home in the dark. The things they talked about were basic. How could jobs be found? How does a person test a well for typhoid? Could the stripped hillsides ever grow trees again? Horton's inability to answer most of their questions didn't bother them. Soon, however, they started asking him to find someone who did have the answers. The county agent was helpful. So was a man who knew how to test wells. Once neighbor started talking with neighbor they learned that answers to many of their questions were available right there in Ozone. By the summer's end the people were urging Horton to stay on and not return to college. Cumberland University became at once unimportant and important. He'd learned that the people knew the answers to their own problems. He'd learned that the teacher's job is to get them talking about those problems, to raise and sharpen questions, and to trust people to come up with the answers. Yet, having been in traditional schools all his life, he could not trust this way of learning. He promised to come back when he had something to offer. That fall, he was back at college.

During Horton's senior year one of Tennessee's leading businessmen, a woolen manufacturer named John Emmett Edgerton, came to Cumberland and spoke against unions. Essentially he said the workers were wrong to think they could decide things for themselves. It was he, Edgerton, and other industrialists who should determine what was good for the working man. Horton's understanding of the union movement was slight, but Edgerton's speech shocked him. Soon after, Horton went to Edgerton's Lebanon mill to talk with his workers, arguing that they were human beings who should exercise their inalienable rights. His appeal was spirited, but naive; it fell on uninterested, perhaps even fearful ears. Horton himself was deeply confused and disappointed that the workers didn't rise in rebellion at hearing his arguments. He returned to the campus downcast, only to be greeted by university authorities with orders to stay away from Edgerton's mill. Undaunted, Horton went back, but again to no avail. This time, university authorities threatened him with expulsion.

After a year as student YMCA secretary for the state of Tennessee, Horton was introduced to Dr. Harry F. Ward's *Our Economic Morality* by the Reverend Abram Nightingale of Cumberland County, who subsequently urged him to study with Ward at Union Theological Seminary in New York. On being accepted, Horton went to New York, arriving just before the stock market crash, the creation of bread and soup lines throughout the city, and the eruption of much labor strife and violence in the South.

Academic life and Union profoundly affected Horton, too. He recalls that Abbott Kaplan, an urbane Northerner, years later told a Highlander fund-raising gathering in New York City: "This little hillbilly fellow wandered up to New York to Union Theological Seminary to get the Word of the Lord. Instead, he ran into the Reinhold Niebuhr, who was speaking with almost as much authority as the Lord, and apparently had a greater social conscience."

Niebuhr was just beginning his distinguished career when Horton arrived. He was teaching and writing with biting clarity against any oversimplification of the social gospel. In his course, as later in his books, Niebuhr attacked the uncritical idealism of social gospel advocates and liberal theologians. In response, those he criticized considered Niebuhr a pessimist, noting that even his moral man proved not to be very moral. Such pessimism notwithstanding, Niebuhr's arguments curbed the notion of inevitable progress then rampant in theological circles.

Horton was first drawn to Niebuhr because of his vigorous defense of the working people, whose efforts to organize in 1929 were being thwarted across the nation. Niebuhr encouraged Horton in what then seemed just a dream: the idea of a school in the mountains for mountain people. While Niebuhr thought that his student could best accomplish this aim by becoming a minister, he did not withdraw his support in face of Horton's obstinate refusal to accept his advice. In fact, he agreed to help in whatever way he could if Horton actually got the project underway. As Horton wrote to him as late as 1966: "It was your inspiration and encouragement which provided the reservoir of strength and commitment that still keeps me going."

Horton was also much influenced during this period by the works of John Dewey, Vernon Parrington, George C. Counts, Edward C. Lindeman, and Joseph K. Hart. Lindeman and Hart had both written specifically on adult education, and were among the first to argue that it be recognized as a potent agent for social change. Hart, in fact, despaired over the possibility of producing significant change through traditional children's educational programs. He argued that adults must first learn how to live the new social order before trying to teach it. Lindeman's writing, which compared experiences in several countries, prompted Horton to look beyond his own Southern origins. He was only familiar with institutions in Tennessee, but now he began to look around New York and other major cities for models for what he called the Ozone Project. Horton left Union for the year 1930-1931 to study at the University of Chicago with sociologist Robert Park and to learn first-hand from the experiences of Jane Addams's Hull House.

His struggle to "get some background" was given still another major push by a Danish-born Lutheran living in Chicago, the Reverend Aage Moller, who encouraged Horton to visit the "Danish folk high schools." Horton previously had read about these schools. When the idea first emerged, the Danes were being attacked by Germany. Many Danes were forsaking their customs and even language in order to learn German, and German ways. This was especially true among the Danish upper classes. The first folk high school started near the German border in 1844, and had as its major purpose the preservation of the Danish language. Four years later, another school started. It championed the cause of the people in their struggles against the landlords and nobility. A third, started in 1864 soon after Germany had taken southern Jutland, sought to spur the revival of Christianity among the peasants.

In the next thirteen years, some twenty-six folk high schools were started; still others came later. The schools were free of government control. They were unencumbered with grades, ranking, examinations, and certifying students. Teaching was primarily limited to the "spoken word," lectures on mythology, Danish history, religion, and language. Each folk college had an "emotionally charged" cause and unequivocally took sides on contemporary issues. Anyone eighteen or older could attend. Those who came supported the schools in whatever way possible—work at the school, food from their farms, money, if they had it. They stayed as long as they were able. Music and poetry were used by teachers to engage the students. The lectures were often repeated in the evening for older people who came into the lecture halls from the countryside.

By the end of the summer of 1931 Horton had earned enough money to make the passage. He went to Denmark, learned the language, and studied the trade union movement, the farmers' cooperatives, and the folk colleges—many of which were disappointing because they had lost their initial vitality and sense of purpose after their struggle for a more egalitarian society had been won. But by interviewing many of the older folk high school directors he managed to discern four key characteristics that had initially produced the kind of school he had in mind.

First, many of the directors were unconventional educators. They were people on fire with awareness of injustice and the determination to correct it, to awaken the peasants to the misery restricting their lives. Second, the schools, each with its own purpose, sought to evoke among their students, as one director put it, "a picture of reality not as we have met it in our surroundings, but as we ourselves would have formed it if we could—a picture of reality as it *ought* to be." Toward that end, the schools made wide use of poetry and song: a revolutionary spark seemed inherent in these ways of communicating. Third, Horton found, the early schools sought to develop feelings and will more than memory and logic.

Joseph K. Hart best described the fourth characteristic which emerged from Horton's conversations with the older directors: "A folk school in America, as in Denmark, would probably center about a personality of some real teacher; a man who is capable of learning, and who can teach, not so much by his teaching, as by his capacity to learn. America's great lack, at present, is the lack of men of this sort. We have plenty of men and women who can teach what they know; we have very few who can teach their own capacity to learn."[1]

Horton now knew what he had to do: get behind the common judgments of the poor, help them to learn to act and speak for themselves, help them gain greater control over the decisions affecting their daily lives. He left Denmark and returned to New York City where, with Niebuhr, he began laying plans to fulfill his dream. Niebuhr wrote the first fund-raising letter for the project, which was tentatively called the Southern Mountain School.

Horton's next tasks were to find a staff and a place. He turned to former Union Theological classmates John Thompson, a Tennessean, and James Dombrowski of Tampa, Florida. Both agreed to join Horton before the school's first year concluded, and to help him find other staff people in the meantime. Horton then headed south to the mountains of east Tennessee to find a place. Chance led him to meet Don West, a Georgia native, who also had been to Denmark and was interested in starting a folk college. West had a contract to teach a traditional school in Kentucky that year, but Horton's determination proved persuasive; West broke the contract. They visited Horton's early sponsor, Mr. Nightingale, who knew of a possible place. The house was on Monteagle Mountain, west and north of Chattanooga, and belonged to Dr. Lillian Johnson, the daughter of a wealthy Memphis banking and merchant family. Dr. Johnson, after studying the cooperative movement in Italy, had returned to the South, bought land in Grundy County, built the house, and started a school. Since 1930, however, she'd been talking of retirement and of giving her home to someone who would carry on her ideas of "community betterment."

When Horton and West arrived, Dr. Johnson was shocked as they laid out their plans for a school. Her approach to education and social service was structured and well-planned. The idea of an adult residential school without courses, without a planned curriculum, violated all Dr. Johnson's training and instincts, yet she relented before the insistence of the young men that education ought to be directly useful to the life of the community. She gave them a year's probationary lease, which was later extended indefinitely.

Horton and West moved into the house. They decided on a name which derived from the people, the place, and the school's purpose. In the 1930s, *Highland* was the popular name for Appalachia. A Highlander was an Appalachian, and, for Horton, *folk* was a term that had both a positive anthropological and a political meaning. The Highlander Folk School was created.

Grundy County: A Place in Need

The folk school was started in a place where the right to work and the right to live had been a constant struggle. Grundy County's problem could be traced in part to the Compromise of 1876, which resulted in the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as president of the United States. Until that year the South was essentially agrarian and characterized by a rigid caste system. While condoning exploitation of blacks within the region, white Southerners generally were not exploited by industry. However, the Compromise of 1876, engineered by old Southern conservatives and determined Southern industrialists in league with Northern bankers, brought the railroads and industry into the region to take advantage of widespread unemployment and abundant cotton, coal, and timber.

Working people were routinely abused. On August 14, 1892, unemployed Grundy miners, organized by the secretive Knights of Labor, rebelled against the state's practice of leasing convicts to private coal companies. The rebellious miners marched on the huge prison stockade at Tracy City, captured it, freed 390 convicts under contract to Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, the parent of today's giant U.S. Steel, and then burned the stockade to the ground. The convicts were put on a train and sent to Nashville, as much as a warning to the politicians as to get them out of Grundy. These hapless convicts had been used by the mine operators throughout the Appalachian coal fields both as a cheap source of labor and a means to prevent or break strikes.

The next day war broke out between the armed miners and the state militia after 1,500 more convicts were set free at Inman, Oliver Springs, and Coal Creek, all mines owned by Tennessee Coal and Iron. Throughout the early months public opinion remained firmly on the miner's side. By 1893, however, the combined forces of the state and the coal companies had gradually retaken the mines, still using convict labor. But the revolt that started in Tracy City had sounded the death knell of convict leasing in Tennessee. In 1899, the legislature outlawed the practice. (Grundy men still speak with pride of the rebellion of 1892.)

The natural companion of injustice was long-tern poverty. In 1938, nearly 80 percent of Grundy's population of 2,250 families was on relief, placing it among the eleven poorest counties in the nation. Most men on the dole were miners and timber workers; on the average, their families survived on monthly benefit checks of $10.26 per person. Men with WPA jobs earned $19.20 a month, less than a nickel a meal for each member of a family of six—provided every cent went for food.

The Wilder Strike: Learning to Learn

Circumstances at Wilder, a bleak valley town over one hundred miles to the north of Grundy County, provided a catalyst for Highlander. Horton heard of a mining company that had locked out striking miners at Wilder. He went to see the situation for himself.

Wilder was a company town; coal was its profitable reason for being. The town's few unpainted shacks were company-owned. Miners were paid in scrip, good only at the company store, which charged higher prices than independent stores in the region. The company made weekly deductions for rent on the shacks, for a bath house, which didn't exist, and for a doctor, who was infrequently available. No matter how hard or long the men worked in the mines, they couldn't break even, much less get ahead. As their debts piled up and food at home dwindled, their indignation and desperation mounted. Finally, they struck, without the support of a larger union.

Almost immediately, the company shut off the electricity and took the doors off the houses; it was winter and bitter cold. Horton was told that the company blew up a rotting, unused trestle as a pretext by which they could call on the governor to send in National Guard troops to protect private property. Horton figured that it cost the state more to guard the mines for three months than the company had paid in taxes for twenty years.

The Red Cross, supposedly responding to the emergency created by hunger growing daily in the community, handed out food and flour to the strikebreakers but not to the strikers who, with their families, were literally starving. The county chairman of the Red Cross was the wife of the mine superintendent.

Having learned as much as he could about conditions in Wilder, and having arranged for students and teachers from Highlander to join in support of the strikers, Horton commenced writing letters to newpapers across the state appealing for food and clothing for the strikers. John Thompson, who had recently joined Highlander, later wrote, "I will never forget the long line of gaunt, haggard, brave people who lined up to receive the scant rations we handed out to last them a week. Each family got a pound of dried beans, a half-pound of coffee, two tins of canned milk (if they had a baby), half a pound of sugar. Those rations saved many lives, but meanwhile many babies had died of starvation."

The strike was led by Barney Graham, a tough mountain man. Nothing the company did seemed to break the strikers' morale. Constant harassment and insults from the National Guard seemed only to deepen the men's resolve to win. The company let it be known that if Horton and Thompson didn't stop bringing food into Wilder, they wouldn't get out alive. There was an attempt to bomb Highlander, the first of many subsequent attempts, and the students and teachers stood armed guard night and day for two weeks.

Horton persuaded Norman Thomas to come to Wilder and speak at a mass meeting for the strikers. His words were stirring, but the "Wilder Blues," written by Ed Davis, one of the strikers, was the hit of the day.

The strike and the violence went on. Barney Graham was shot in the back as he went to fetch a doctor for his ailing wife; after he fell in front of the company store his head was bashed in by his killers, who then stood guard over his body, refusing to let anyone take it away until the sun set. Other union men's homes were shot into; some were dynamited. One scab was shot and killed; another wounded; and six union men were arrested and jailed five months without bail.

Horton was arrested in Wilder and charged by a National Guard officer with "coming here and getting information and going back and teaching it." It was his first arrest. He was marched off at bayonet point to the officers' quarters, where he was held eight hours before being released.

When the company couldn't break the strike, they started evicting strikers from their rented homes. This action, coupled with the loss of Graham's defiant leadership, broke the strike.

The Wilder strike had a powerful impact on the Highlander staff. The miners' words, songs, and deeds had dramatically illustrated the intense class consciousness of Southern workers. The Highlander staff, most of whom were strongly committed to ideologies, had hoped to kindle the workers' latent revolutionary spirit, but quickly realized that to accomplish this goal, the workers themselves would have to state—one way or another—their own beliefs. Highlander had to learn not to convert, but to bring forth; education not only had to serve the people, but, more importantly, had to be of the people.

Workers' Education: The Highlander Program

Horton's Christmas greetings for 1932 give a good picture of the school in those first days:

> Our four regular boarding students from neighboring states have become an accepted part of the local community, and each is in charge of some phase of community activity.
>
> Four regular classes are held each week, with an average attendance of twenty to twenty-five. These classes are: psychology, cultural geography, revolutionary literature, and a course in the study of our present social and economic problems. In addition to those classes, there is a seminar on how social change is brought about. Much of our class discussion is based on information gained by investigation of actual labor situations in the Southern industrial area. Such first-hand information is obtained by both students and teachers. The people of our own surrounding communities are eagerly reading all the books we have and are asking for more. We are fortunate in having the support of our community, many of whom help cut wood and divide their meager food supply with us.

By 1936 Highlander had developed a three-phase educational program: six-week residence courses, extension work, and community activities. Workers who showed promise of becoming organizers or local leaders in the labor movement were selected as resident students, usually by vote of their locals. While the majority of the resident students came from mills, mines, and farms, a few were college graduates interested in workers' education.

workers' education in the 1930s usually meant schooling that taught workers reading skills, or some work skill. Highlander, like the Danish folk high schools before it, did not disavow teaching basic knowledge, but students at Highlander were not taught to adjust to exploitation. Nor were they expected to become merely good union members. Highlander was teaching that the unions were organized to be controlled by and to serve the members, not the other way around.

The extension program operated in cooperation with the unions and the few farmers' organizations. Highlander students assisted strikers during organization drives. More systematic education work was done through study groups set up by the extension workers (students), often at the picket lines, where songs and group singing techniques were taught, both to spark determination and to build solidarity. Not only did the extension program recruit new students; it also permitted the school to keep in contact with both the labor movement and those former students who were moving up the organizational ranks. In the community activities program, old and young took part in dramatic classes, music lessons, and group dancing. The wide diversity of experiences and geographical backgrounds meant there was much information to be shared among the students participating in the residential programs.

Early Efforts at Desegregation

During the 1930s the staff at Highlander became much more aware of the plight of blacks in the South and of the shared interests of poor blacks and poor whites. Too often blacks had been used as exploited scab labor to prevent the development of better general working conditions.

Even before Highlander opened, Horton had hoped to bring black and white students together. But in 1932, the climate was hardly favorable from the point of view of either blacks or whites. The Scottsboro case, its defendants mostly from nearby Chattanooga, still inflamed racist sentiment. This was aggravated by the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Powell* v. *Alabama* that denial of counsel in a capital case violated the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The plaintiff, Powell, was a black.

Thus, Horton was disappointed but not surprised when in answer to his request for help in recruiting black students, Dr. J. Herman Daves, then teaching at segregated Knoxville College, replied, "At this time we know of no student or graduate of our school who would be a good candidate or who would be desirous of enrolling with you." He added however, "A number of us are extremely interested in your work."

Try as they might, the Highlander staff failed to attract black students on any significant scale until 1944. But they persisted, as is evidenced by the fact that about a year after refusing to help find students, Dr. Daves himself, accompanied by his wife, came to teach a course at Highlander. Resident students, including some few from Grundy County, had been studying labor problems and wanted to talk about blacks in the labor movement. The staff prepared the way by first talking with as many neighbors as possible, and by posting in their irregular community newsletter: "A few students, who have families to support and live in towns where Negroes are unorgaized, wanted first-hand information as to how Negro workers could be oganized. Following a discussion, several people from the community said that the students should get the Negroes' side."

Dr. Daves and his wife, in 1933, became the first black people to stay overnight and eat at Highlander. In doing so they violated the state of Tennessee's Jim Crow school law prohibiting blacks and whites eating together or staying overnight under the same roof. It was a law to be repeatedly flouted at Highlander.

Throughout the 1930s Highlander worked to open the labor movement to all working people, regardless of race or sex, and to this end it was able to drive an occasional wedge in a closed society's door. The union educational program comprised the major part of Highlander's educational effort at the time, and the school continually stressed the practical daily damage of discrimination. If the bosses could pit whites against blacks to keep wages low, then whites had to join blacks for both their sakes. Eventually these discussions were more and more led by black labor leaders in the South or college professors.

In 1940 Highlander informed all the unions that it served in the South that the school would no longer hold workers' education programs for unions which discriminated against blacks. This first paid off four years later when Paul Christopher, regional CIO director and a member of Highlander's board, organized a workshop for the United Auto Workers. It was attended by forty union members, black and white, from every corner of the South. The workers attended classroom sessions on collective bargaining, the economics of the auto and aircraft industries, and the UAW's postwar plans; while there, they also organized a cooperative food store. After this, Highlander began urging other unions to join the pioneering UAW. Support was soon developed from the Tennessee Industrial Union Council and the Southern Farmers' Union. Others followed.

Highlander found that the common problems which brought union people to Highlander in the first place, plus the informal setting away from home, provided sufficient ground upon which newly integrated groups could work out their own ways of interacting and relating. One crucially important way Highlander nourished the working out of new interpersonal relationships was through music, usually organized by Horton's wife, Zilphia.

As in Ozone years earlier, Horton found that song and dance sparked people with determination and self-assurance in ways that no other communication could. Moreover, his wife was uniquely gifted in bringing people together through music and in helping people to express themselves by writing their own music. Perhaps the most striking example is the song brought by two union members from South Carolina that she, with folk singers Pete Seeger and Frank Hamilton, modified. The song was "We Shall Overcome."

Highlander's Frustration: Fear at the Top

Toward the end of World War II the unions, pledged to no-strike policies for the duration of the conflict, began plans to rapidly expand membership. Those decisions had a local and regional impact. The unions were once again on the move. Highlander reflected this: Horton temporarily took on the job of organizing and developing educational programs for small farmers in Tennessee for the National Farmers' Union; the Tennessee Citizens' Political Action Committee was formed at the school in 1944 when 60 delegates, representing twenty-four national unions, gathered; three labor conferences attracted over 280 Southern union delegates to Highlander that year; and over 100 students, all sent by their locals, came for month-long resident sessions on labor problems.

These residential students helped run Highlander through a council of workers which was reconstituted each term. In this way they gained practical knowledge of parliamentary procedures, public speaking, community relations, the making of posters and leaflets, and the writing of news releases and shop papers. In short, how to build a strong local.

Many of the goals shared by Highlander and the unions were attained: union membership increased throughout the South and across the nation; the procedures of the War Labor Board and the "maintenance of membership" clauses added stability to that membership; wages rose, and sometimes jumped; and integration of the unions was on the rise. But where, asked Highlander staffers, was the political consciousness of the workers?

Highlander's early hope that the union movement, especially the CIO, would become a powerful force for social and economic change had dimmed with experience. Any struggle on behalf of the working class had been submerged beneath a bureaucratic struggle for power. By 1949, an organization which had thrived on militancy was fearful of militancy, afraid the bottom might upset the top.

Highlander had joined the union movement when, as John L. Lewis wrote in an introduction to one of Zilphia's union songbooks, "it was a singing army." To many on Highlander's staff and board, though certainly not all, labor's antidemocratic impulse reached its zenith in 1949 when the CIO convened in Cleveland, Ohio, its main order of business to expel "members of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement . . . or any person or organization who consistently aided other organizations to accomplish their own purposes rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the consitution of the CIO." The convention expelled two unions, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the Farm Equipment Workers, for "communism." Also, it withdrew from the allegedly Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Believing that the bureaucrats who controlled the unions were using red-baiting simply to preserve the status quo, Horton predicted that ten years would pass before a single top CIO leader left office. He was wrong. It was eleven.

Highlander itself felt the weight of the approaching red purge weeks before the Cleveland convention. The school was notified in July that the union would not hold its usual workers' term at Highlander that year because, "rightly or wrongly, some leaders were of the opinion that at Highlander there exists some left-wing 'communist' influence."

Despite CIO displeasure, Highlander continued its support of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, then one of the last militant unions in the South. The CIO sent out a directive telling locals to stop using Highlander, but Highlander's association with the unions did not quite end yet. Because there were few enforcement powers in the CIO's constitution, its threat of nonsupport was difficult to carry out. In fact, two years after the bitter exchange between the national union hierarchy and Highlander, Horton was asked by the United Packinghouse Workers, an affiliated union, to become their director of education.

Civil Rights: A New Highlander Priority

Horton's work with the UPW was Highlander's final fling with the union movement, however.[2] Developments in the South were as much a reason for the change as disappointment at Highlander with the union movement. By 1950 Grundy County had joined much of the rest of the South in emerging from the worst of its economic ills. Not every Southern worker had a full stomach or adequate wage, not all their children attended decent schools, but more did that didn't. Since there was little indication that the unions would go beyond these limited attainments, it was time for a shift in Highlander's priorities—away from the union movement and toward interracial progress.

In 1953 Dr. George Mitchell, who headed the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and was chairman of Highlander's board, told the school's annual policy-making meeting: "The next great problem is not the problem of conquering poverty, but conquering meanness, prejudice, and tradition." Highlander could become "a place in which this is studied, a place where one could learn the art and practice and methods of brotherhood." Dr. Mitchell specifically urged the school to explore the problems which might occur should the U.S. Supreme Court, before whom the famous *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was then pending, rule to end segregation in the public schools and/or enforce the separate but equal facilities decision. Consequently, Highlander sponsored two summer workshops for "men and women in positions to provide community leadership for an orderly transition from a segregated to an unsegregated public school system in the South."

Two quite separate events in the early 1950s accidentally resulted in what Horton considers Highlander's single most important contribution to the civil rights movement and, broadly, to the field of liberal adult education.

First, in 1953, Highlander received a three-year grant from the Schwarzhaupt Foundation "to increase participation in local and national affairs, in stimulating interest in community problems, and in changing attitudes which limit democracy." In essence, the grant allowed freedom to experiment in adult education.

After two experimental efforts failed, other opportunities arose. In 1955 one of Highlander's students, Mrs. Septima Poinsette Clark, was "let go" by the Charleston School Board. Mrs. Clark had been actively encouraging blacks to vote. Her second unpardonable transgression was accepting social invitations to the home of Judge and Mrs. Waring, patricians made pariahs by the judge's decision that South Carolina blacks had a right to vote. After she was fired Mrs. Clark came to Highlander as director of education. It was in this capacity that she introduced the school to Esau Jenkins of Johns Island, South Carolina.

Set off from Charleston by the brackish Stono and Kaiwah rivers, the island was segregated by race in the 1950s, as it had been for some time. It was further divided by tongue—the whites spoke Charlestonese, a Southern dialect peculiar even to other native-born Southerners, while the blacks spoke mostly Gullah, a dialect that bore traces of an African Gold Coast language spoken before the days of slavery. Mrs. Clark first went to Johns Island to teach in the 1930s. The island's three thousand blacks fished and gardened when they could, but most of the time they worked hard in bountiful fields that weren't theirs. Sickness, illiteracy, disease, and superstition were common. Education was scarce, at least for blacks. Mrs. Clark was eighteen when she was assigned to a two-room schoolhouse which was badly in need of repair, if not space. Over 130 students, ranging in age from six to sixteen, filled the schoolhouse wall to wall. For her duties Mrs. Clark was paid $35 a month. Her white counterpart taught three students in a well-furnished, well-kept schoolhouse and was paid 85 a month.

On Mrs. Clark's second visit to Highlander in 1954, she brought along several people from the Charleston area, among them Esau Jenkins. For Jenkins, the immediate problem was literacy education. He told them that "so many people here [on Johns Island] can't read and write and I know this condition because I would have been almost in the same condition if I didn't go back to school." He asked Horton if Highlander would set up night schools for adults "to help them become better citizens." Over the years, Jenkins himself had tried to do the same, but one man wasn't a school. He operated a bus from Johns Island to Charleston carrying people to their jobs and decided to get a group in the bus in the mornings and teach them how to read the part of the state constitution they would have to read to become registered voters. In this way, in twos and threes, Jenkins had added a handful of blacks to the voting rolls. But this just scratched the surface.

With the Schwarzhaupt Foundation's money, Horton spent six months visiting Johns Island, listening to the farmers, fishermen, maids, and field hands in an effort to learn the ways of island life.

Gradually, he learned that the islanders were ill at ease in the state's adult literacy program for some very simple, but not so obvious reasons. For one thing, the adults didn't fit into the classroom chairs. They'd been designed for children. Not only were the adults who attended uncomfortable, but they were called "Daddy Long-legs," and there was just enough depreciation in the nickname to cause embarrassment, just enough embarrassment to cause a prideful man or woman to quit. In just the same way, they were being taught as children: step-by-step; a-b-c-d; "the ball is red"; "New York is a big city." They were being asked to delay reading sentences useful to them until they could read sentences of dubious value to children. It seemed very far from the Constitution. The few who had enrolled just stopped going to classes.

Horton concluded that if Highlander were to respond to the request to "start a night school for adults," then that school would have to be outside the traditional schoolroom and would have to be in a setting or settings, more familiar to adults. Moreover the work of learning to read had to be adult work. At the end of three months and thiry-six classes in all, the first fourteen students took the voting test. Eight of them were registered. And before the first Citizenship School ended, its size had more than doubled from fourteen to thirty-seven just the opposite of the "regular " reading school.

Jenkins later told Guy Carawan of Highlander what happened next:

> And then the people on Wadmalaw and Edisto Islands found out later the reason for Johns Island was so successful in registering Negroes. They ask me if it's possible to help them to get an adult school. So the next year when I went to Highlander, when it comes time for immediate problem again, I brought in Wadmalaw and Edisto, and they again say they will help if I can find a place and the teachers. I found the place, and today Wadmalaw registered more Negroes than ever registered in the history of Wadmalaw.
>
> The same thing is happening on Edisto and all over the country. In 1954, in the county, there were 'round five or six thousand Negroes registered. In 1964, almost fourteen thousand. So everybody is jubilant for the Highlander Folk School, who have helped them see the light.

In 1963, seven years after the first Citizenship School began, figures totaled by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which by then was running the program, indicated that since it had taken over in 1960 nearly 26,000 blacks in twelve Southern states had learned to read enough to register. SCLC also reported that volunteer teachers were at that time running over four hundred Citizenship Schools across the South for over 6,500 adults. In all, Mrs. Clark estimates that nearly 100,000 learned to read and write as a result of the program.

Highlander's role on Johns Island, South Carolina, was that of a catalyst: providing the educational experience, what money was necessary, and recruiting and training teachers. Horton never entered a Citizenship School classroom as a teacher, and, as the idea spread, he discouraged other well-meaning whites from doing so. He felt the presence of any white stranger in the classroom altered, even stopped, the naturalness of learning. Citizenship Schools were run by blacks from the start.

Success Invites Repression: Tennessee vs. Highlander Folk

The inevitable happened. Highlander drew fire from Southern white racists. On the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, Labor Day weekend of 1957, about 180 Southerners gathered to renew their friendship, talk about the South, and share their thinking about how Highlander could strengthen its role. Among those that visited were Aubrey Williams and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Also amongst the crowd was Abner Berry, a writer from the *Daily Worker,* and Ed Friend, an undercover agent for Governor Griffin of Georgia. Berry's unwanted and apparently contrived appearance in many of

Friend's photographs—including one of Horton, Aubrey Williams, Dr. King, and Rosa Parks—gave much grist to the anti-Highlander propaganda mill. Undercover agent Friend's report and this photograph, 250,000 copies in all, were subsequently sent throughout the South and the nation by Governor Griffin's Georgia Commission on Education, a tax-funded body he'd set up to root out any deviation from segregation. In an "editorial comment" accompanying the broadside, the governor stated, "It has been our purpose, as rapidly as possible, to identify the leaders and participants of this Communist training school and disseminate this information to the general public. It behooves each of us to learn more of Communist infiltration and the direction of Communist movements. Only through information and knowledge can we combat this alien menace to Constitutional government."

By the first week in October the slick broadside had been distributed throughout the nation. Shortly afterward billboards using the photograph started appearing across the South, claiming in huge lettering that "King attended a Communist Training Center." Postcards using it still circulate through the mails. Years later, when Horton rejoined the Council of Southern Mountains, a board member, disgusted about Horton's reelection, sent in his resignation on one of them.

Though Governor Griffin subsequently retired, Ed Friend and his undercover work came back to haunt Highlander. He was called to testify against Highlander several years later, and brought along a twelve-minute film he'd made at the twenty-fifth anniversary.

To a degree, Governor Griffin's calumny backfired. The anniversary proved to be Highlander's highwater mark for publicity. *Time* magazine noted the event. The *Christian Century* described Griffin's attack as work "shadowed through . . . distorting prisms . . . sad and sordid enough if it stayed south near whatever paranoid minds nurture such deceit." And on December 22, the *New York Times* carried a statement released by Highlander and signed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Monsignor John O'Grady, then head of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, and Lloyd K. Garrison, former dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School:

> The attempt of the Georgia governor's commission to draw from the serious and fruitful deliberations of this gathering sustenance for the efforts of Southern racists to equate desegregation with communism evokes our strong condemnation. This kind of irresponsible demagoguery is obviously designed to intensify the difficulties confronting decent Southerners who might otherwise give leadership in the adjustment necessary for the desegregation which is inevitable. We deem it morally indefensible for any men or group to inflict upon such institutions as Highlander and upon such individuals as the respected leaders, both white and Negro, who at-

> tended the Labor Day Seminar, the damage to reputation and position which may result from the wide distribution of this slanderous material.

Highlander's hide proved tougher than the governor expected. And so the Commission on Education turned to other "problem" areas.

Highlander played a significant role in the civil rights protests of the next few years. However, to be consistent with its past and realistic about its present, the school had to work behind the black movement. With perhaps as much gut instinct as analytical insight, Horton realized Highlander could help lay the groundwork for the struggle, but couldn't take much part in it. Highlander was white and the struggle was black. Even more important, the leadership was now black. The people were leading themselves. Highlander had to figure out ways to respond to those requests for help which moved the social forces in collective directions, while ignoring those which would foster continued individualism.

Specifically to aid the black movement, Highlander turned the Citizenship School program over to SCLC in 1960. As educators, Highlander's staff felt that to continue administering an already established program would hamper their ability to experiment with new approaches. And they believed that a strong educational program linked to a forceful organization would help to build the organization's leadership potential.

There was still another major reason for giving the program over to SCLC in 1960. The year before Highlander had been seriously threatened with revocation of its charter by an investigation conducted by a committee established by the Tennessee state legislature. At the time of the decision, Highlander had been charged with being a place where people engaged in "immoral, lewd and unchaste practices," the scene of "loud, boisterous gatherings," engaging in the sale and consumption of "intoxicating liquor," and breaking a 1901 state law forbidding blacks and whites from going to school together. Finally, it was asserted that Horton "operated the school for personal gain." A trial was scheduled.

Shortly after turning the Citizenship Schools over to SCLC, Horton was free to fulfill the roles he thought proper: responding to requests for educational work only if they came from blacks, and fighting for Highlander's survival. Not long after, the state of Tennessee seized the school's property and revoked its charter. The idea and institution were reorganized and rechartered under the present name, Highlander Research and Education Center, Inc., and relocated in Knoxville.

The reorganized institution continued the policy of training community people to become leaders with a major emphasis on helping those interested in the voter registration movement. It especially supported the activities of SNCC in Mississippi. Literally dozens of workshops were run at the Center and in various parts of the South during the next few violent and crucial years of the civil rights drive.

A Glimpse of the Future

By 1964, Horton was trying to get Highlander out of the civil rights movement and back into Appalachia, and to encourage the civil rights movement to become a means by which all suppressed people in America could challenge their oppressors. It was slow work.

Horton foresaw the day when blacks would tell whites to get out of the movement, to let them run their own show. Yet Horton continued to push the civil rights movement's leadership to go beyond its own concerns and link up with all of the nation's oppressed. The last conversation he had with Dr. King in March 1968, only days before King was slain, is recorded in a letter he wrote the Reverend Andrew Young upon returning to Knoxville: "I believe we caught a glimpse of the future at the March 14 meeting called by SCLC. We had there in Atlanta authentic spokesmen for poor Mexican-Americans, American Indians, blacks, and whites, the making of a bottom-up coalition." Highlander continued its involvement by holding annually a five-day workshop where Mexican-Americans, blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and whites from Appalachia could get together and talk about common problems. But since 1964 Highlander has been involved primarily in Appalachia, experimenting and evaluating ways to put education to use for perhaps another social movement, this time to fight internal colonialism.

Starting Where the People Are: The Development of Highlander's Educational Style

While Highlander has attempted to mesh the social and physical setting to make the school a way of life, it was no Utopia in the early years. The staff was young, constantly changing, and usually in desperate want of money: thus the pressures and tensions were severe. Petty annoyances often became major sources of friction. Outspoken staff assertions of ideology, coupled with an inability to let the students speak their own minds, sometimes led to difficulties. On the whole, however, the staff tried to live in a way which would demonstrate for the students the sort of new social order they envisioned: one built on brotherhood, democracy, and cooperation. As Horton wrote Jim Dombrowski, before he arrived at Highlander in 1933:

> If I understood our purpose correctly, we will all be working at the same job but will be using different approaches. Out task is to make class-conscious workers who envision their roles in society, and to furnish motivation as well as technicians for the achievement of this goal.
>
> In other words, we must try to give the students an understanding of the world in which we live (a class-divided society) and an idea of the kind of world we would like to have. We have found that a very effective way to help students to understand the present social order is to throw them into conflict situations where the real

> nature of our society is projected in all its ugliness. To be effective, such exposure must be preceded, accompanied by, and followed by efforts to help the observer appreciate and digest what he has seen. This keeps education from getting unrealistic. While this process is going on, students need to be given an inkling of the new society. Perhaps this can be done best by having a type of life that approaches as nearly as possible the desired state. This is where our communal living at the school comes into the picture as an important educational factor. The tie-in with the conflict situations and participation in community life keeps our school from being a detached colony or utopian venture. But our efforts to live out our ideals make possible the development of a bit of proletarian culture as an essential part of our program of workers' education.

The Highlander staff had begun as rank romantics and idealists. Theirs was a vision of the new workers' world, one where production was for use and need, not profit; where government was of and for the people; where all children were well fed. But the dreams of the Highlander staff did not make room for the people themselves. The people living around Highlander and attending from various parts of the South didn't care about education; they didn't want to build a new society. They wanted food and jobs. To Highlander's young staff, food was just an excuse for communal participation and jobs seemed almost incidental to union-building and cooperative organization. They were at first disillusioned when they proposed a cooperative to grow potatoes, ordered seed potatoes for the planned-for garden, and found that the people ate the seed as soon as it arrived. Slowly, from this and a host of similar experiences—which each staff member had to assimilate himself or herself—they came to realize that if the school was going to teach poor people, the staff would have to start the learning process at that point in their lives where the students were confronted with an immediate problem; moreover, the problem had to be one which they, the individuals or community, not the school, perceived.

In this respect, as far as institutions can, Highlander had to open itself to learning. All the staff had to learn a new tempo of interpersonal relationships, much different than their own middle-class experience. For one thing, the people were reticent and quiet. Only as they understood the people and their way of life could the staff find enough security within themselves to move away from traditional academic methods. Once they stopped trying to teach the way they'd been taught, mutual learning could begin.

Having come to question their own traditions, there was a temptation for the Highlander staff to go all the way, to reject all tradition, even their individuality. "To share their poverty, live in their cabins, assuming that to pick at bed ticks and lice while going hungry is to somehow 'be as one' with the poor is false logic," Horton argued. You could walk a mile in another man's shoes, but you couldn't wear them for life. Horton and others rejected this approach.

There were other "practical" matters to learn before Highlander's effectiveness was fully felt. At one point, soon after the Wilder strike, the school was asked to organize an employment agency. At first blush, the notion had appeal. The idea came from the local community, and, if it worked, would be of use to them. However, the staff refused. They said that their goal was to help workers unite with other workers for commoin strength, not to help a few individuals rise above the rest. An employment agency as such would have added little to the community's coellctive strength, no matter haw many individuals advanced because of it. By refusing, they taught something about mutual aid among people, and tried to attack the dilemmas of individualism.

This was one instance among many of the tension at Highlander between individualism and collective action. While the individualistic impulse could come from the students, it was just as likely to arise in the staff. Horton, despite his intellectual commitment to socialism and collective solutions, held to an abiding belief in individualism. Passages he copied as a student from John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* remain in his files today.

> *He who lets the world,* or his own portion of it, *choose his* plan of life, has no need of any other faculty than the *ape-like one of imitation.* He who chooses his plan for himself, employs all his faculties. He must use observation to see, reasoning and judgement to forsee, activity to gather materials for decisions, discrimination to decide, and *when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold his deliberate decision.*
>
> If a person possess any tolerable amount of common sense and experience, *his own mode of laying out his existence* is the best, not because it is the best in itself, but because it is *his own mode.* (Italics are Horton's.)

Of course, part of the impact of this strain of Horton's thought was positive, for he insisted that students at Highlander establish *their own modes* of existence and share them with the collectivity. This insistence often found fruit first through collective approaches to education. "Peer teaching" was one such method. A worker coming into his own could also help his fellow workers. Horton learned this from Dolf Vaughn, a "blacklisted" miner, who related information to students which they would use, almost immediately, in spite of previous efforts by other staff members to share the same information. Vaughn was a bridge between staff and workers. Formally educated staff members, it turned out, were never as effective in teaching as the people themselves, once they saw themselves as teachers.

At times, when the workers were facing failure and feeling inadequate to make their own decisions, there were poignant displays of the conflict between professionals advising people directly and encouraging them to decide their own fates. The problem was put most clearly to Horton during an extended and bitter strike during 1937 at a cotton mill in North Lumberton, North Carolina. After the strike had begun, Horton moved to North Lumberton to support it.

In spite of the fact that Horton and the local leadership carefully set up committees charged with the responsibility for making decisions about welfare, recreation, or the strike itself, the people weren't experienced in the business of decision-making. Horton kept telling them their union would only be as strong as their decisions made it. He rarely took part in committee work. He would make suggestions, point out alternatives, or furnish additional information. He never pushed a committee to a decision. Nonetheless, his suggestions, alternatives, and information carried added weight, especially during the strike's early days.

He was making some progress on this problem during his last weeks in Lumberton. The strike committee was meeting at a moment when it appeared as if the company was going to win. The committee had been unable to reach a conclusion on what steps to take next. There was collective anger when Horton refused to offer a suggestion. "My answer might be better than yours," he said. "Or it might be worse. But it would just be one man's answer. If I make this decision, what will you do when I'm not here and you are faced with tough decisions?"

One man started crying. Another, in desperation, pulled a pistol on Horton. "You son of a bitch," he yelled, "you are going to tell us what to do." Horton was too startled to respond instantly. Other committee members got the weapon from their fellow member and sat him down. Eventually, as tempers cooled, the committee reached a decision on their own, learning, in the process, that they could decide on issues, and had to. In the end the tactics that were developed were successful and the union members won the right to an election and a contract.

Conclusion: The Highlander Idea

As with the many Scandinavian movement folk high schools, Highlander's programs have encouraged people to find beauty and pride in their own ways, to speak their own language without humiliation, and to learn of their own power to accomplish self-defined goals through social movements built from the bottom up.

People learn of unity by acting in unity. They learn of democracy by acting democratically. And each time they do these things as a result of experiences at Highlander they both renew their capacity to act in these ways again and demonstrate the process of education in action. Talk about this process distorts, and is one step removed from the essential element—the people themselves doing. Writing words about the process is two steps removed. Education at Highlander is a synthesis of person, group, time, place, purpose, and problem. Words and sentences, spoken or written, tend to order this synthesis and give it logic by making it a sequence, when, in fact, it cannot be and is not sequential or logical. There are, of course, methods within this context, and it is these methods which Highlander has been refining with each new experience.

Baffled by education without assignment or examination, without the learned doing the talking and the unlearned the listening, some critics have described Highlander's residential workshops as anti-intellectual gatherings where the exchange of anecdote passes for education. They overlook the fact that Highlander is dedicated to helping develop the fulfillment of democracy, not to the preservation of academic discipline. They ignore that what is learned at Highlander is usually tested in real life, under the eye of unrelenting opponents, not in the classroom under the eye of a tutor.

Highlander changed its focus from workers' education and union organizing in the thirties to involvement in civil rights in the fifties and sixties and to community organizing in Appalachia in the seventies. In each stage of its history Highlander has had to combat what can only be termed repression—calumny, accusations, and arbitrary use of the legal system by local and state authorities. This has included harassment by local American Legionnaires in 1935, threats from the "Grundy County Crusaders" in 1940 and investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and prosecution by the state of Tennessee in 1959 which led to the revocation of Highlander's charter and the confiscation of its property.

Highlander has survived, despite arson, arrests, and eviction. And it adjusted, in a changing political climate, to new sets of students and problems. It would be hard to lift out of the historical account of the Wilder stride and Highlander's early days, or out of its later history, a precise set of principles we could call the "Highlander idea." Yet we can make some reasonable judgements. At the least, Highlander can be described as an adult residential center in the South for the development of community leaders among school, church, civic, labor, and farm groups, and for liberal education. And we can say with assurance that Highlander is committed to democracy, brotherhood, mutuality, and united social action. But it is deliberately vague about those governing concepts, letting the peole it serves and the times they live in define precisely what they mean. These ideals change as people change, and Highlander changes with them.

NOTES

1. *Light From the North* (New York: H. Holt, 1927), p. 28.

2. Highlander does, however, support unionization efforts in the South. See "Southerners for Economic Justice Board Launches Regional Education Drive." *Fair Measure* Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 1978):pp. 1-5.

PART 4

Folk Colleges and the Continuing Challenge of Democratic Pluralism

An Argument for Humanistic Education and Ethnic Revival

D. C. Davis

New Directions For The Folk High Schools

"Whither the folk high schools?"—the question has been asked almost from the first days of the movement. It is being asked today; it was being asked in 1955 when I first began to study the folk high school. The question always has to do with the changing times, the changing makeup of the population, the increased freedom of the young and their greater affluence. The question of whether the folk high school could weather these changes and remain a strong and meaningful institution has always intrigued many within and without the movement.

Throughout all the periods of doubt, the folk high school has continued to offer its unique experience and has seemingly lost little of its strength and relevance. If its impact today does not seem as great as in the beginning, it must be remembered that the idea is not so radical today as it was then. The sheer numbers of people today and the mass of events occurring each day would tend to make the high schools' influence—even the very fact of their existence—less visible. As to the importance and relevance of their work, the words of Kristen Kold seem as appropriate today as they were over a century ago: "At Rodding school they work for Danish culture against German culture, and when the former is triumphant the task of that school will have passed; at Hindholm they work for the rights of the peasants, and when the peasants have gained the upper hand, there will be no further use for Hindholm school. But in my school we work for Life as against Death, and that work must continue as long as the world exists."[1] If the folk high schools continue the work of Kold's school, they cannot become less relevant, for surely if ever there was a period when the work was for Life as against Death, it is in these days.

In a way, it might be said that it is just this work which today is causing the greatest controversy in the folk high schools. For it is one thing to "work for Life as against Death," and another to agree on just what that work is.

And agreement there is not today in folk high school circles. The question manifests itself in the students' increasing expectations of having a voice in the decisions made concerning their educations. It is the question of student participation, student influence, and the teachers' parallel expectations of a more influential voice in the affairs of the school.

The traditional Grundtvigian school, run by the benevolent but authoritarian principal who makes the decisions affecting the lives of the students and teachers alike, is being challenged by the expectations of both teachers and students for more influence in the running of the school. More schools are being conducted on this more democratic basis, which means that the authoritarian principals and schools are finding themselves under pressure. The social rules are also changing. Whereas when I stayed at the folk high schools rules forbade visiting in the rooms of students of the opposite sex—at Askov except for Sunday afternoons, and at Elsinore after ten at night—at many schools today there is no specific rule on the subject, the expectation being that students will behave themselves and that one's own freedom should at no time infringe on the freedom of others.

In some schools there is a one-man, one-vote policy, which includes principal, students, teachers, kitchen girls, etc. At others the students have equal responsibility with the faculty and administration concerning social rules and an advisory status concerning the curriculum. At the same time there are schools where the principals, though they may believe in democracy and "support student participation," reserve the right to limit that democracy and participation to the less important aspects of the school's life. As one principal put it: "There must be a student senate at a folk high school, but the students' influence must clearly be limited to what they are qualified for." Other principals may be less fearful of the limits of the students' qualifications, but are haunted by the thought that each group of students will have wildly differing ideas of what a folk high school education is, and thus the school will not be the same from one term to the next.

In other statements made recently by folk high school principals, one finds a deep pessimism as to man's very nature—a pessimism which, incidentally, seems to run quite counter to Gruntvig's optimistic belief in the common man. In defending, as he thought, the folk high schools against criticism that they might lead to young people questioning authority, one principal neatly sandwiched left-wing agitators and the escapist tendencies of many of today's youth into a unique statement:

> We, who have the responsibility for the folk high schools now, have ourselves once been so young that in the name of progress we wanted to turn development back to Romanticism. But we were fortunate in having elders who left us in peace. [He refers here to his claim elsewhere in his article that the students are not responsible for their actions but are being used by outside political

> agitators—left-wing agitators.] . . . Every folk high school takes its little share of the behavior problems, of people in the process of resocialization, people recovering after psychic breakdowns, people who because of internal injuries are temporarily hostile toward everyone and everything. And it may soon occur to the authorities that practically every "high school disturbance" begins when people who have been unbalanced by the times—and not the high school—protest against being dragged out of their escapism and brought into the twentieth century's problems.[2]

I must hasten to explain here that part of this principal's attack is directed against doctors and psychiatric clinics, who often advise patients who have suffered psychological damage to attend a folk high school as part of their return to society, after they have made their recovery. It may well be argued that the presence at any school of people who are recovering from more or less severe emotional problems will make the operation of the school more difficult by the mere fact that these people have moved out of the common rut and have glimpsed the human procession, as it were, from outside. There is no doubt that such people might bring to the school a more questioning attitude toward tradition and authority and a stronger-than-average need to find personal meaning in what they do. Such a student might seem disruptive, but I detect in the statement more than a hint of superiority from the principal. It is obvious that he has never tried to escape the twentieth century's problems!

I would like to quote one more principal in this matter of allowing the students more freedom, partly because I believe it is necessary that the picture of the high schools I present be as honest as possible, and partly because that is, really, one of the questions which looms largest today for any educational institution. In attacking the permissiveness and progressivism which is showing up even in the world of the folk high school, a principal stated that "man's selfishness, his self-loving and warlike nature are so obviously facts that one can reasonably question a great deal of today's psychological and pedagogical dogma."[3]

Where does all this fit in with Grundtvig and his belief in the common man? Is the "traditional Grundtvigian folk high school" (and these principals are absolutely sure that they represent this tradition) really in line with Grundtvig's own thoughts? There is no doubt that Kristen Kold and many of those who came after him left their imprint on the folk high school. It may well be that those sturdy and stern men who brought the folk high school movement into being followed Grundtvig's words in a manner which he might not have foreseen. We must remember that he was principally a poet and dreamer; he did not have to go into the classroom and strike a spark in the breasts of those students. Had he been actively engaged in the classroom it may be that his view of man would have been more somber. There is no way to know, of course. We do know that he thought about the role of the schoolmaster, however, and wrote about it as follows:

> We know well that the old crochety schoolmaster still sticks with us, even if we have given up the part which went with the role, so that we think it is best for the young people that they listen piously to everything we say and repeat exactly after us; but we must learn to recognize that that absolutely does not fit at a *folkelig* high school, which the young people are neither driven to with threats or lured to with earning power, but will only visit and value if they find it both relevant and enjoyable, and whether they will find it thus none can say but themselves, so for that end they must be given a meaningful opportunity in the school council, and whatsoever they, so to speak, are unanimously dissatisfied with can in certain circumstances be very good, but it doesn't belong at a *folkelig* high school.[4]

The clash between the consevative way of looking at the high school's role and what might be called a more progressive approach is exemplified by a series of events which took place in 1968 at the folk high school founded by Kristen Kold: Ryslinge. The Ryslinge Affair, as it became known, caused much bitter recrimination among folk high school people. The affair attracted attention first when, in early July of 1968, five teachers were fired from Ryslinge. This followed some months of disagreement between some of the teaching staff and the principal. The dispute centered upon teachers' authority and working conditions, and the firing came immediately upon the heels of an agreeement whereby teachers and principal were to work together as best they could for the remainder of the school year.

By the twenty-fourth of July the teachers had been rehired and fired again, a group of students who had protested the firing of the teachers had been expelled and readmitted and the minister for folk high schools had interrupted his vacation to arbitrate the affair—all with wide publicity in the press and on television. Some of the students boycotted classes as a protest over the second firing of the teachers, but the matter died away when the students left for vacation. The teachers who were fired nevertheless continued to teach until the end of the session.

When the students returned from their vacation they held a meeting to discuss the situation. One result of the meeting was that that they missed their afternoon classes—they had asked the principal's permission to be excused from their afternoon classes because of the meeting—and the principal declared that those who had missed classes were expelled. At the meeting thirty-four of the fifty-six students continuing in the summer session after the vacation voted to boycott classes in protest against the firing of the teachers.

In the round of events which followed, the students sought out the minister of education with their case; he advised them to return to school and carry on with classes, and also advised the principal to readmit them. The students agreed but the principal insisted that certain of the thirty-four students had to be expelled. At this the entire group decided to leave and moved from the school to a nearby inn. There their number grew to thirty-five. Since it seemed impossible to achieve any working agreement with the principal, the students decided to collect money, hire a school, and finish their term. They were able to rent a folk high school which was on vacation, found a principal whom the Ministry approved so the school could receive government support, and received the volunteer teaching services of a number of writers, teachers, artists, historians, and others, each of whom volunteered to teach a class for one day. With some of their money they also hired permanent teachers, and the school fininished out the term.

There were responses of many kinds to this unprecedented action by students. The principal of Ryslinge sent a letter to the students' parents warning them that Ryslinge would not stand behind the education they had gotten at Hesbjerg, the other school. He and others pointed suggestively at the fact that some of the people who had volunteered to teach at Hesbjerg were members of the Socialist Left party. While this was true, what he did not say was that the paid and volunteer teachers represented most shades, if not all, of the political spectrum. Some comments on the affair hailed the actions of the students and praised their initiative.

In an interview in one of Copenhagen's leading newspapers, the principal who decided to work with the students in their attempt to build a school spoke about the students and about freedom and responsibility:

> While everyone hears about the students' freedom, at most high schools there is a smoothly working system which encourages dependence and irresponsibility. It is difficult to understand how these schools can talk of education for democracy.
>
> It is this system which is the high school's problem today—and not the disturbances some may resort to to defend themselves against the system. As one school administrator said: "The core of the matter is that at my school the students never needed to resort to the methods they had to use to be listened to at Ryslinge!"
>
> Our group at Hesbjerg consisted of thirty-five students, who, after having left Ryslinge, received the Education Ministry's approval to try their own hand. They did not represent any revolutionary dispositions, but were very ordinary young people who, out of ordinary self-respect, found it necessary to confront a totalitarian system. As one student said: "Before, they told us a lot about democracy; now we are trying to live democracy."
>
> It has been unfortunate for this group that some have characterized it as hoodlums and others as angels and heroes. It is neither of these. [He goes on to explain that the student council had the responsibility for housekeeping, purchasing, curriculum, cash bookkeeping, and agreements with outside lecturers.]
>
> When students work with the large problems in the running of a school, they go to work with impressive seriousness and

> thoroughness. This stands in marked contrast to the garrulity with which they work with less important things such as parties, smoking in classes, or dishwashing duties. This may be of some interest to those principals who have only allowed their students to work with the less important questions and consequently don't dare leave the meaningful ones to them. A serious job with serious things can only be learned if one works with the serious things.
>
> Maybe one day we will reach the point where the high school's free mode of operation (and it is *still* free in principle) preferably is used to teach the young that work and discussion in themselves provide for development. Therefore, no matter is too small for one to devote some time to it. Something quite decisive happens to a person when he grapples with a problem—whatever that problem happens to be.[5]

I have pieced together this account of the events from many sources. Both sides granted newspaper interviews and wrote letters to papers and journals. Outsiders, too, had their opinions, which were freely available and widely differing. It may be of interest that throughout the entire affair the principal of Ryslinge was solidly supported by the board of trustees of the school, the alumni association, the mayor, and the local newspaper. Whatever it was he did, and the students' and teachers' complaint was that he ran the school in a high-handed and capricious manner—of which we got glimpses as the events unfolded—he had the backing of the community.

The students themselves, quite apart from any genius or courage they may have had, were extremely fortunate. First, they were able to find a place to hold school and, even more important, a principal who not only had the time but believed in what they were doing. Then, they had the good fortune to embark on their educational adventure in a country where education is carefully supported by the government, and where the minister of education himself backed the justice of their cause, and thus enabled them to retain the government support which they needed to pay the teachers at their new school.

Ryslinge did not fall. The principal is still there. Other classes of students have come and gone with no more revolts. There are other schools where there exists a "guided democracy," where the principal, sometimes in concert with the teachers, makes the important decisions and the students are urged to participate in planning the parties and entertainments. That is, after all, the traditional way. And even if the democratic aspects of the tradition may seem somewhat slender, and though independence may be discouraged in such a situation, it is undeniably from this very tradition that the many valuable contributions from the folk high schools have come. It would be a mistake to condemn these traditional principals and their schools out of hand. A more realistic way to look at it might be to acknowledge that the traditional forms grew out of social situations and were valid responses to them, but that present conditions are such that democracy in education has, in fact, assumed new meanings, including the students' right to participate in the decisions which affect them educationally.

There are schools which are taking the idea of student participation seriously and experimenting in the direction of more responsibility for those affected most directly by the education. Perhaps the most radical experiments are taking place not at folk high schools, but at the so-called continuation schools. These schools are very similar in goals and methods to folk high schools, the main difference being in the age group they serve—from fourteen to eighteen years. They, too, are boarding schools, and to a great extent follow the folk high school philosophy. Being a newer phenomenon without the long tradition of the high schools, often having younger teachers and principals, they may find it easier to be experimental and adventurous. Even so, they have not been able to experiment without paying the price. More than one principal has been replaced by the school's board of trustees because he "went too far" in granting freedom, in trying to extend the democratic process to the students. Even as I write this, the school whose program I wish to describe is experiencing problems between conservative and progressive elements in its directorship.

At Rantzausminde the students have been involved in the work of the school to a degree not often found elsewhere. The school's highest authority in almost all areas is a general meeting which includes everyone who is connected with the school: students, kitchen girls, principal, and teachers—and which works on the principle of one man, one vote. If the general assembly wants to, it may set up a student council which acts as the general assembly's agent, but the general assembly, where everyone has an equal voice, is the heart of the plan. In the area of curriculum, only the first days of the term are planned in advance. After that, the general assembly takes over.

Of course, in such an undertaking as that at Rantzausminde, there must be a great deal of trust—trust in others, but not least of all, trust in oneself. At a meeting of free school[6] people recently, one of the teachers from Rantzausminde answered questions about the problems in running such a school. With respect to what one could expect from the young people, he replied that their experience was that if you expected little of the students they would give you little. If you expected them to act intelligently and take responsibility—not the sort like planning a weekend dance or the decorations for a party, but meaningful responsibility—they would do their best to oblige. If one shows trust in them, he added, they will be trustworthy.

In answer to the question of whether a power struggle took place—a question which seemed to be in the minds of many of the participants—he answered that many students came to the free school from a society which mistrusted everything connected with law and order—and whose fault is that, he asked. At the beginning it is difficult to get the students to enter into a cooperative undertaking, he said, but "that is precisely our job: to develop that desire in them."

We see here the grounds on which the battle for the folk high school's future will be fought. As the young people begin to find themselves, they are demanding more and more a meaningful part in the decisions concerning their lives. As they become more aware of their powers and their value as persons, they are demanding more autonomy and more influence in their education, including a folk high school education. As they daily see more clearly the mistakes of their elders—mistakes such as wars and poverty and racial discrimination—and they become ever more certain in their refusal to acquiesce in perpetuating these mistakes, their demands will grow both in strength and in scope.

If the folk high schools are effective in carrying out what has actually been one of their missions throughout the years—that of awakening the young people to their own potentiality—they will actually be forcing themselves to change. For it is only if the schools *fail* in this task that they will be able to continue in the old paths, relatively aloof to the outside world, seeing their role as that of parent surrogate gently but firmly shaping the youth of this generation. It might be said that success means change—change to meet growing student awareness. A young folk high school teacher, for example, recently replied to the charge of having led young people astray: "I am neither a leader-astray of youth nor a leader of youth. The young people's revolt comes from the young people themselves. I want to educate people who are radical, not train them to become radicals. I believe that at any given moment it is radicals the society needs."

It takes a good deal of trust in young people—in people in general—to want to educate radicals. For one of the things radicals do is stir things up, agitate for change. How can we be sure the change will be for the better, or that it will not disrupt our own lives? If we trust people, we can make the assumption that whatever changes they agitate for will be in the best interests of themselves and us. So it is not enough that we trust them. We must also trust ourselves. We must assume that we, ourselves, are trustworthy, that what we are doing is, to the best of our knowledge, beneficial to all involved, is in the best interests of them and ourselves. Even more important, we must have the conviction that as we are honorable—or at least strive to be so—so the same must be true of most of our fellow men. This is not to say that there are not men who, on an operational, day-to-day basis, can fairly be described as dishonest, even evil. Neither is it to say, in effect, that I have been honest and generous in my dealings with these dishonest others who are only waiting to cheat me. It seems to me that the essence of self-trust, self-respect, is the ability to discriminate in individual cases, so that one is not constantly on his guard against others, but is able to be on guard when it is appropriate.

Trust is a key word in education. It was one of the cornerstones in the original idea of a high school for the ordinary people, as it occurred to Grundtvig. It is perhaps a cornerstone of the new humanism. There is no doubt that it is an essential ingredient in the culture of the young. Yet, lack of trust seems to characterize many of the educational plans of the present and the future, and of course much of what occupies the time of both students and teachers in our schools today is work entailed by a system which does not trust the students. (This is not to say that the students can or cannot be trusted—though obviously I believe they can, and must be.)

The matter of trust may well turn out to be crucial in the future of the folk high school movement. Just as the student of today differs from his nineteenth-century predecessor with respect to the amount of information he brings to school, his attitudes, and his appearance, so have the requirements for trust changed. Kold, for example, trusted his students. But he did not trust them to be able to determine the curriculum, even in part. He did not trust them to set their own bed hours or the like. In his day, the young people did not expect that kind of trusting.

Today, trust seems to demand more of one. The area covered by trusting, one might say, has increased drastically. Many young people now expect to be trusted in matters where their parents and grandparents expected to be mistrusted. When this expected trust is not forthcoming, the more self-aware of these young people find themselves in the position of demanding trust. Such demands are likewise a break in tradition and the consequence is often hostility and friction. In the Ryslinge Affair, one of the things which the young people were demanding was to be trusted more. The principal not only could not give trust, but the very fact that the students were expecting it—demanding it—apparently was so unthinkable to him that he was unable to react with anything but force. That is, he ejected them from the school.

Not all young people are making this demand. Not all young people see themsleves as being competent to make the major decisions governing their own lives. In this way they are like most of us adults. Many do not believe that they yet have the right to demand their rights. After all, there has been only one Ryslinge Affair—no other folk high schools have had students revolts.

Yet, I believe it is fair to say that the youth are beginning to expect to be trusted. Part of the reason for this is the feeling among many of them that the older generation is not to be trusted. Many young people, when they look at the world they are inheriting, cannot help but exclaim: "The adults are not to be trusted to run things. Out ideas are at least as valid as theirs. We must begin to trust ourselves rather than them."

One of the problems in trying to make the folk high school appealing to the young people in the city has been the residential nature of the school. while it is in the nature of agricultural work that the winter is a more slack time, with the great periods of activity occurring in the spring, summer, or fall, with planting and harvesting, the nature of most jobs in the city allows no built-in slack period when the worker could take a five-month leave of absence and find this job still waiting for him. However, if the folk high school, in order to accommodate itself to the life tempo of the urban youth, were to drop the residential requirement and offer part-day or evening classes, it would be eliminating at the same time one of the most important parts of its offering—the experience of community which grows up among the students and faculty.

The workers' high schools have decided the question by retaining the residence feature; they are boarding schools, like other high schools, to which students go between jobs, or on a leave of absence from their jobs. No doubt the fact of the schools beng run by the Workers' Educational Association aids in getting such leaves of absence for the students. In 1916 Borup High School was founded in Copenhagen in an attempt to meet the workers on their own ground. It was not a residential school, but in all other respects, methods, courses, and philosophy it was a real folk high school. The school has had at least a moderate success over the years. While it has not spawned a score of similar schools, it at least has remained in action, and is still operating in Copenhagen.

An experiment is being tried in Sweden which may point the way to a slightly different solution to the residence problem. A number of folk high schools which have traditionally been located in the country have set up daughter schools in nearby cities. At the present time there are about thirty such schools, often quite large. Typical of these daughter schools is the one in Göteborg, which is part of the folk high school at Kungälv. The school at Göteborg has 110 students, divided into three classes, while the mother school at Kungälv has 70, in one class. The building for the school in Göteborg is provided by the city, which also is responsible for all the costs of the building's operation and maintenance. The cost to the students is nothing, as all education in Sweden is free.

The student body at Göteborg, which is probably typical of the filial or daughter schools, is on the average slightly older than ordinary folk high school students. Since most of them are there to get an education which they weren't able to get earlier, most tend to come from a lower economic level than the typical high school student. A new trend is the attendance of housewives who are not working. In the Swedish high schools in general there is a greater emphasis on practical training and on "solid" subject matter, and this is reflected by the filials. Many of those attending Göteborg are working to obtain certification as recreation workers, and the school offers a course leading to the certificate. Some of the students, however, come solely to get that unique experience which a folk high school provides. About 20 percent of them come as part of the government's retraining program.

Emphasis in the school's curriculum is on those subjects which have to do with helping people: psychology, sociology, philosophy, organizational behavior. Music is also offered. As lectures are wanted often, many are scheduled. For many students the first contact with a folk high school comes as a distinct shock. Many of them come from a generation which is used to absolute schedules, inflexible courses of study, and at the high school they are presented with *suggestions* for their schedule, *suggestions* as to what courses they might take, etc. But they are highly motivated, and in this atmosphere of free learning are able to make the best use of their interests.

The students also have an important part in shaping the course of the school. Each week representatives from the different classes meet with the teachers in an open meeting. All present have a voice, but only the elected representatives may vote on decisions. The students determine the activities of the school from the contents of the brochure to the contents of the courses. The only area in which they have no say is that of the final presentation—a written or oral presentation which is the culmination of their semester's work. This presentation is one of the criteria upon which their admission to further study is based.

Because the schools lack the residence feature which is such an integral part of the ordinary folk high school experience, everything is done to build a sense of community within the given situation. A great emphasis is placed on group activities such as theater evenings, excursions, and field trips. Barriers between teachers and students are removed as much as possible. The teachers have no separate lounge where they can retreat during lunch hour or between classes. All members of the school have a key, so that they may use the building at any time of the day or night. One of the consequences is that the students come to think of the school as a place to be, a place to come to. Some come to take advantage of the TV, which many do not have where they live in the city, and they prefer to be at the school rather than hanging around a café.

The fact that there are now thirty of these filial schools seems to argue for the timeliness of the idea. The school at Göteborg reports that there are always more applicants than it can accept, though it has been in existence only two years. These schools offer to the city dweller something which the traditional folk high schools have been less able to offer; an environment in which to pursue the goal of becoming more educated, in which there is freedom and flexibility and the sharing of responsibility, which just do not exist at many folk high schools, and to which many of the people are accustomed in their daily lives. In this respect I believe that Danish folk high schools exhibit a greater gap between what they have to offer and what the city dweller wants and needs. For the Danish schools have through the years been more characterized by an emphasis on character-building, on the Grundtvigian traditions, on the old way of doing things. Since this tradition was also the tradition of rural Denmark, the kind of experience they offered was very congenial to the youth from rural areas. City youth, however, seem to care less for traditions, have looser ties with the church, and more interest in the present, the future, and practical things.

This situation has been clearly recognized by the Danish folk high school people, and it has caused a great deal of troubled discussion. For, as sincerely as it was felt that the high schools should try to establish contact with the young people of the city, equally sincere was a reluctance to break with the traditions of the past, the traditions which in many cases had made the high schools the strong moral force they have been. Today, with younger men coming into the leadership roles in folk high school circles, men who did not know the old-time greats of the high schools and who never listened to their inspiring lectures, there is a greater sense of experimentation. Krogerup High School was established primarily for the bright young leaders in the worker movement. It was, so to speak, the folk high school for young radicals. But in saying that, I must point out that it was not the intent of the high school to *make* radicals. The radicals already existed, in the persons of the young people who saw the need for wide-reaching reforms. The role of the high school—of the radical high school—was to give these young radicals a chance to participate in the high school experience; to have the experience of working on their education in a community of others who were also working on theirs; to experience the exciting feeling of doing something with others because it was what they wanted to do—when there was no raise or step up in the job hierarchy, or another certificate as a result. Finally, the radical high school was important because those who started it believed that there was something in the high school experience—nothing supernatural, but very hard to describe—which made people more human. The radical folk high school, then, might be said to exist to mix the young people's radicalism with some humanism, for the sake of society.

Still, the Swedish experiment with filial schools is a new step. I believe there are good reasons to hope that it will signal a new era in the development of that truly humanistic institution, the folk high school. Today, people as never before are sensing the need of men to live and work in groups. Communes are being formed by young and old alike. Some are doomed to failure from the very start, but all are a response to what is a very basic need of the human being, a need which we seem only recently to have rediscovered. This search for the benefits of community is leading the young people to found their own free universities and experimental colleges, where the concepts of free contribution and free access are the backbone, and where there is a real sense of involvement and community among the participants.

In this atmosphere, I see an experiment such as the filial school moving naturally and organically into some sort of an open-ended residence college or high school where students will be free to come and live as they feel the need, and free to move out as they feel the need to move on. And all the time, the school itself will be a living thing, filled with the life and energies of those associated with it. I cannot help but believe that today the young people themselves are sending a message to the people of the folk high schools, a message which is loud and clear: we are looking for new meanings to life; we are looking for new modes of living. We are looking for questions and we are looking for answers to questions we haven't asked and can't ask. We are trying to make this journey. Do you want to come with us? But you cannot come on your terms. You need not come on our terms. We all come without terms, without preconditions. Come with us or be left behind.

This, more or less, is the crossroads where we find the folk high schools today. The pace of change has increased. No more do we have time to retreat into our traditions and see what will happen. In a real sense, it is a case of come with us or be left behind.

Some Implications for U.S. Education

> . . . in my school we work for Life as against Death, and that work must continue as long as the world exists.
>
> Kristen Kold

If we believe that the new humanist picture of man comes closest to what man "really" is, then it seems incumbent upon us to find some alternatives to our present system of values, especially in education. The kind of education offered today in the United States is not appropriate for the kind of person the new humanism describes.

I believe that Danish folk high school experience supports the picture of man as the new humanism describes him. It also offers rich material to use in trying to develop something more appropriate for his education. The success of the high schools, as measured both by the response of their former students and by the influence they have had on society, seems to argue that the type of person described by the new humanism exists and that certain approaches to education are appropriate to his development.

With few exceptions, our schools today do not encourage the students toward self-actualization or self-fulfillment. If we allow education to continue in the same paths it is now traveling, we will never know what man is capable of becoming because he will never have the chance to really become himself. The system requires him to expend a great amount of energy becoming what someone else wants. This implies that there is someone who knows what the young person should be and what is best for him. This is a myth. The state of the world today should be evidence enough that we do not know what is good for ourselves or young people. The older generation does not know, except in very general terms, what is good for the younger generation. It is time we gave up this myth that we, the teachers, know what is best for the students.

This does not mean that we must abdicate all responsibility. We do have experience, we do have some idea of what is good or bad for *us*. We have some idea of what it is like—for us—to be alive, to be adult, to be male or female, or to be any of the myriad things we are. If we are honest we also know something about the ways we feel life has shortchanged us, the areas of our lives and ourselves which seemed to shrivel and die.

Our job as teachers is not to say to youth, "You must be like us." It is to offer ourselves and our experiences as examples of what it can be like to *be*. If our lives have been full, we are an example of the rewards of a full life—indeed, we can show how to live a full life, if we are living it. If our lives have been cramped and frustrating, we can show the evil effects of denying our humanity. If we are authentic, if we are honorable, the young people will accept our offer and honor it. They will accept it and use what they are able to or what they need for the purpose of making themselves. But we must not expect them to accept everything we offer or to become like us.

It is here that a teacher can best serve; it is here that his students can become more than he is. If we say, "Be like me," we limit them to what has been. If, however, we can say, "Be what you will become," the way is opened for growth which we may be unable even to dream of.

Therefore, if we are to free youth to become all that they might be, we must free them from our expectations. We must also free them from the enormous waste engendered by a system which requires most of their energies to be expended in becoming something other than what they are, something planned in the central office.

This means that we must also hope to free them from the prospect of the mechanistic school of the future, where their every move is planned by someone other than themselves, and their ultimate growth is tied to what someone else has been able to program into a computer. I believe that this becomes even more important when we discover that those who decide these ultimate ends are experimental psychologists, businessmen, and computer specialists. Even were this approach to education a valid human one, the planners should be poets, artists, musicians, impractical dreamers; people whose life work is life. But to have one's life planned by an experimental psychologist. . . .

The question is asked, "Do you advocate starting a folk high school here in the U.S.?" The answer is no. It has been tried, with a great lack of success. This is not what we have to gain from a study of the Scandinavian folk high schools. Rather, what we can learn by looking at what the schools have actually tried to do, how they have tried to do it, and the extent to which they have been successful is that a humanistic education is possible and desirable. I believe that one hundred twenty years of experience in Scandinavia demonstrates this assertion abundantly.

As soon as we forget that these are "schools for farmers" or schools for this or schools for that and look, not at the stereotype, but at the schools themselves and what they do, we will find that they are schools for people—for human beings. Then we will be able to say, "If I want a school for human beings, what can I find out from the folk high school experience about ways in which it might develop?"

What are some of the things in this high school experience which can be helpful to us in educating human beings?

No Examinations or Diplomas. Though we do not have the external examinations which assert hegemony over the Danish student's life, we do have grades and diplomas. Whatever evils the system of external examinations possesses, equal though different ones are inherent in our system. Both stifle innovation and experimentation by teacher and student alike. Both require the student to please an entire succession of teachers in order to succeed. Neither system belongs in education which is *for* the learner.

The question of eliminating grading is currently under discussion in this country. Surely the evidence from the continuing high school experiment involving such large numbers of young people suggests that young people, when given the opportunity to learn something meaningful, will learn without the stimulus of grades or diplomas.

Kristen Kold, when asked why his school did not have examinations, and how he knew what his pupils were learning, replied: "Of course when you are putting drain pipes in the soil you have to mark the places where you put them. But when you sow grain you need no markers; in the time of harvest you will see the results."

Need it be pointed out that at the time of harvest in our own educational experience, one of the most common fruits is the failure of school bond elections to pass?

Freedom of Attendance. When the only entrance requirement is the desire to learn, those who are interested will attend. When the only entrance requirement is the desire to learn, those who are interested *may* attend. Minority group students here in the United States have often found their desire to learn blocked by admission requirements which discriminate against them in one way or another. This touches on what education is supposed to be about. The school is supposed to be a place where those wanting to learn can go and find help. Instead, too often it is a place where those who do not want to be there are forced to remain, while because of overcrowding, admissions officers are continually seeking more sophisticated ways—known as admissions policies—of keeping out those who want to be there but for whom there is no room.

Teachers' Qualifications. A teacher is qualified if he has something to offer to the students. Teachers need to work full-time. Degrees and credentials have little to do with whether one is a good teacher.

Acceptance of the Social Nature of Man. Social interaction must be an integral part of the school experience—interaction among students, teachers, and as many others as possible. It is possible that parents and others would interest themselves in such schools, and enter into the communal life.

When the attempt is made to offer the things that the learners want and need, it may be found that as the choice becomes free the learner will have more questions, not fewer, and that they will be questions about what is important to him. One result will be that the kinds and range of subjects desired by the students will tend to become ever larger.

Creative Arts. Not only singing, but the other arts, painting, drama, potting, sculpting, dance, etc., will be an integral part of the experience. The school itself must also reflect this attitude toward creative expression as an integral part of the human experience, with the sanctity of the buildings never interfering with the right of the students and the teachers to display their work, or to change their environment. Buildings and surroundings will be beautified organically, by the continuing creative processes within the school and their manifestations rather than by an architect once and for all.

The Curriculum. In general, the curriculum is what we have been talking about. These are the kinds of things which would probably go on at a school for human beings, and the conditions under which they would go on. What will actually go on will depend on the needs and competencies of the teachers and the students. As far as subject matter is concerned, I should think that the list of special classes at Askov would be a good jumping-off place. With this list as a start, surely students and teachers could go on. Since we are including in our school all ages of children instead of just those the folk high schools accept—though we may actually have them in separate divisions, of course—the range of subjects will be commensurately greater. There may be short-term classes in: Why is there dirt on the ground? what makes us stay on the surface of the earth? Where do I come from? These are serious questions and must be answered sooner or later. It may be that older students might wish to share with the younger ones some of their own experiences. We might see a teenager studying up on gravity because a group of small students asked him why their ball always fell down, or some such question, and he realized that he would have to find out more about it himself before he could explain it. We might even see, as I have, a group of teenagers learning from smaller children—a game, a singing rhyme, or just how to be alive.

Classes would be added or dropped as they were needed or ignored, or as the abilities of the teachers dictated. It might be found desirable to have some courses required and the rest elective, or it might be found equally desirable to have all the courses elective. If there are certain "core" courses which are necessary to cope effectively in the society, there may well be a steady demand for them even without requiring them.

I must stress that this is not a purely haphazard situation with students and teachers bouncing from one subject to another with no purpose. The underlying quality of the entire undertaking is purpose, for we are talking about people who are seeking to learn. We must not wrongly conclude, from our contact with our traditional forms of education, that there is no purpose to learning, or that man does not learn of his own free will. Man has been epitomized as many things: the Toolmaker, the Creature who Plays, the Thinker, but not least as the Learner. It is, perhaps, one of the strongest indictments of our traditional education that it is so difficult to think of learning as a natural process, or to look upon learning as a highly purposive activity.

Our supposition, in postulating a school for human beings, is that given two conditions: (1) freedom to attend or not, and (2) a curriculum based on the needs and desires of the students and teachers, the school will be characterized by a sense of purpose and commitment which is entirely lacking in most of the forms of education with which we are acquainted. The folk high school experience has shown that when students wanting to find out come together with teachers who want to help them find out, there is purpose and commitment.

Unfortunately, we have never allowed ourselves the freedom, within the system, to test the possibilities of such a thing. Neither did the Danes. The folk high schools started and remained outside the system so they *would* have the freedom to experiment. The example of the students who left Ryslinge demonstrates the advantage of being outside the system. Unfortunately, it also demonstrates the advantage of being outside the system in a culture which not only talks about being committed to education, but does something about it. Just as the Danish society no doubt owes part of its high level of social concern to the influence of the folk high schools, it is even more true that these schools owe part of their continued existence to a society which believes in supporting education—both inside and outside the system.

This poses a double question for would-be radicals in education in the United States. Real experimentation, real initiative, cannot exist within the system. Outside the system, however, there is little or no likelihood for economic support for a radical educational enterprise. What should one do? Should one try to build a radical school with the system, with its advantages, especially monetary, but with limited freedom, or should one try to work outside the system, with the advantage of freedom but the handicap of limited funds? The choice is not an easy one, and may, in fact, not be as black and white as it seems. Surely the truth of the matter is that one cannot neglect either course. For those able to work there, the experiments outside the system will doubtless prove to provide goals and examples of what results we can expect in a human educational system. For those who must remain inside the system, there is the necessity to work there for a greater commitment to real education, rather than the trappings of education. We are starting late. It may be that a humanistic education can only exist in a humanistic society. In the meantime, there is the hopeful fact that great numbers of students and teachers are discovering that real education does not need large buildings, laboratories, expensive textbooks, and similar trappings.

Kold's words about there being a need for his school as long as the world exists are a reminder that in out country today there are groups whose position is in some ways similar to that of the Danish peasant in the nineteenth century. The blacks, the Chicanos, the Native Americans, and other minority groups are seeking to reestablish their ties with their roots—their mother tongue and their fatherland. In Denmark the peasant majority has "gained the upper hand," and Danish culture has triumphed over German culture. But here in the United States the battle is only starting. Our peasants—the minority groups—have *not* gained the upper hand, and their fight for cultural identity is just beginning.

The question we have to ask here is, given the conditions of our day, would a folk high school type of movement suffice? In the nineteenth century, though the peasants were in a depressed state, time was on the side of the reformers. What could not be done today could be done tomorrow. Change never took place overnight. Now, however, there is a strong feeling among the reformers that what is not done today may never get done. Almost twenty-five years of living under the threat of nuclear annihilation has erased whatever feelings the nineteenth century had that tomorrow was another day which could be counted on to come. Today we do not have that confidence. What we do have is population growth racing with pollution as the final solution for man if he should restrain himself from committing atomic suicide.

In this atmosphere, could a folk high school type of education be useful? There is no clear-cut answer to this question, but I would suggest that the principles on which the high school is built, the emphasis on the integrity and innate value of the students, are certainly relevant to whatever period we find ourselves in. Our peasants of today, the blacks, the Chicanos, and the other minorities, must be able to achieve their self respect. They are not going to achieve it through the traditional forms of schooling which, in any case, are all too often denied them.

I do not advocate transplanting folk high schools to the United States. As it developed, the folk high school was a response to a set of social and political realities as they existed in Denmark between the beginning of the nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth. In the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century the political realities are quite different. The forms which a movement for cultural identity, for the rights of the peasants, for Life as against Death will take under these realities may be vastly different from the folk high school as we have known it.

However, whatever the outward forms dictated by the conditions under which the movement exists, I am convinced that in any movement which has as its goals those stated by Kold, there must be a central philosophy very similar to that which animated the folk high school movement. For that philosophy is essentially humanistic; it takes as its starting point and its end that man is honorable, valuable, that he prefers peace to violence, love to hate, art to war, cooperation to competition. This is the philosophy which made the folk high school idea so powerful in the beginning and which *must* lie at the core of any movement which seeks to allow man to fulfill his potential.

It seems obvious that despite the many exciting things happening today in the field of education, for the great majority of young people the educational experience is anything but uplifting, anything but fulfilling, anything but humanizing. The folk high school is one of the great revolutionary ideas in educational thought. Further, it is more than an idea; it is an accomplished fact. Many see the movement as having been crucial to the direction in which the cultural growth of Denmark has moved. I believe that the same threads which ran through that movement and made it great run also through the movement which I have called the new humanism. It seems to me the great lesson we can learn from the high school experience, and, indeed, the Scandinavian experience as a whole, is that, under certain, favorable conditions, humanism does work as a guiding principle in man's affairs. I suggest that if we want a society based on cooperation, on respect for man, on the individual's right to become all that he has in him to become, the direction we must go in, and a direction whose value has been demonstrated beyond a doubt by the folk high schools, is toward freedom. The folk high school does not require you to attend it; you must come because of something in yourself. Once you make the decision you are not graded on how well you follow someone else's path. At the end you are not given a testament saying that you are now a fully qualified follower of this path or that one. In the most basic sense, you arrive at a folk high school with only yourself and you leave with only yourself. What you have done in the meantime is to have looked at many paths, tried on many ideas, watched the people who presented these ideas to see what they were like, tested new skills, and tried out living with others in a close relationship—others who were doing these same things. This is what the folk high school is about. It is what all real education is about. I believe that it is also what life is about.

NOTES

1. Noelle Davies, *Education for Life* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1931), p. 119.

2. Gustaf Bengtsson, "Fejltolkning af Ryslingestriden!" ["Misinterpretation of the Ryslinge Affair!"], *Hojskolebladet*, 93, No. 39 (1968):645-46.

3. Morten Bredsdorff, "Democrati og Demokratisme," *Hojskolebladet*, 93, No. 40 (1968):666.

4. Erik B. Nissen, "Grundtvig on elevdemokrati, studenteropror, m.v.," *Hojskolebladet, 94, No. 34 (1968):560.*

5. *Johs. Dragsdahl, in an interview in Politiken*, Copenhagen, Denmark (September 25, 1968).

6. According to the Danish constitution, parents are not required to send their children to a public elementary school, but are bound to see that they get an education not inferior to that provided by the public elementary school (a provision that many see as being influenced by the folk high schools). As a result, there are a number of nonexamination cooperative elementary schools. These free schools are usually started by the parents of the children and often represent distinctive pedagogical or religious viewpoints: they are often associated with folk high schools and with their former students who wish for their children the same freedom in education they experienced at the high school. Others are associated with the Grundtvigian wing of the Lutheran church, the Free Congregations.

The schools are quite free and as a rule are not supervised by the local authorities. They can choose their own inspector whose duty is limited to seeing that the instruction in Danish, written and oral, writing, and arithmetic is satisfactory. The other subjects of the public elementary school must also be taught, but the principal has sole responsibility for the quality of this instruction.

The schools receive grants from the government—up to 80 percent of a public schoolteacher's salary for the teachers and 50 percent of the money it would cost to keep a child in a regular school. Thus, while the government in effect makes the free schools possible, the parents must still provide the initial money for acquiring the school building and must make a small, but by no means insignificant, continuing financial commitment. Today there are about 175 free schools, with about ten thousand students, in a country of less than five million.

On the Limits of Educational Alternatives Seeking Individual and Social Change

R. G. Paulston

> Lawyers, doctors, bankers, the clergy, we saw them as almost another species of men, a priesthood commanding secrets and speaking them in terms unknown to us ignorant and bewildered mass.[1]

The case studies presented in previous chapters indicate how a variety of Scandinavian and North American social and ethnic movements have sought to use folk college education in behavioral and social-change efforts. We have noted the neglect of this educational phenomenon and, accordingly, the absence of analysis as to its significance. In this concluding chapter we will make a first step in this direction.

The need to generalize from the experiences embodied in the case materials may be viewed in light of both theory and practice. In regard to the former, we have yet to see the need for a general theory of educational change recognized, let alone specifically addressed. While the elaboration of a rationale and specification of some major components of such a theory is far beyond our means here, we might well observe that our questions and findings should be of value to at least one cell, i.e., autonomous NFE programs, in any such framework.[2] For if we are to systematically and comprehensively explain educational change, we must be able to account for such phenomena in all parts of any country's educational complex. Where others have largely focused on educational change—or the lack of it—in formal schools and in "top-down" nonformal education programs, we have chosen here to examine the grassroots or "bottom-up" type of nonformal education, and how it has been created and used with greater or lesser effectiveness by movements seeking collective change in a variety of settings.[3]

Accordingly, we can show where our findings might be most useful to the elaboration of theory, to the accumulation of logically interdependent generalized concepts and propositions with empirical referents. Working both inductively and deductively, students of educational change and policy studies will, no doubt, pay increasing attention to this need in the years to come. And in such an undertaking, theoretically grounded empirical and historical work, as presented here, will be of the greatest utility.

Our findings should also be useful to inform educational decision-making and practice. The folk high schools are periodically rediscovered and heralded as a panacea for social and educational problems. The preceding chapter may be seen as a prime example of this genre.[4] Here the folk high schools are viewed as educational solutions to a variety of social problems, but there is little recognition of how the problems are, for example, largely a consequence of structured inequality or racism, and no clear understanding of the conditions that made early folk college efforts seeking quite different goals more or less successful. But as our findings demonstrate, it is not just education, but the mobilization of people around painful structural binds and realistic dreams that changes societies. At best, education can do no more than facilitate this process. And those folk colleges outside of movements—i.e., the vast majority—as with all of formal and adult education outside movements, will always tend to reinforce the status quo of existing relations. Thus, our findings will pose something of a dilemma for politicians and educational planners. To be truely effective for social change, nonformal education would seem to require a dynamic social movement context and movement control. It seems to flourish best when autonomous and when it seeks concrete reformist goals, such as the right to vote, to collectively bargain, to survive as an ethnic group, to live one's religious beliefs, goals that do not radically transcend the parameters of tolerance in any given society.

More likely, it will be the future social movement educators, the likes of John Lewis, Myles Horton, George Wiley, Saul Alinski, Cesar Chávez, Martin Luther King, and Betty Freidan who in the United States will be best able to draw lessons to inform practice from this study. Although they will quite likely remain few in number, like all effective movement educators, they will benefit from "useful" theory, from explanations of why and how new learning can lead to new goals, to new awareness and behavior within the context of group mobilizaton, solidarity, and organized struggle.

Origins of Movement Educational Programs

In this chapter I would like to propose some tentative conclusions, drawn from the case studies, to the three questions presented in the introduction. Then we will briefly examine how some of the findings have implications for future social and educational policy in Scandinavia and North America, and for more comprehensive and compelling explanations, or theory, of why and how education can contribute to social and ethnic movements seeking more equitable social and economic relations in liberal-cum-conservative democratic societies, societies in equilibrium states.

The question "Under what conditions have movements created folk colleges?" has never been asked in previous research on folk college origins.

This is in large part because earlier case studies have been highly descriptive and have not sought to support generalization. In this book we have for the first time a collection of case studies chosen to facilitate generalization, albeit tentative and preliminary, concerning folk college origins, processes, and contributions.

In the reconceptualization of educational-change phenomena as with the notion of "social movement education," it is necessary to first specify the scope of the phenomena (i.e., folk colleges in change efforts), develop some rough categories, and then begin to account for variation between categories by noting differences in key characteristics.

In this process of creating typologies or classificatory schemata, as in chapters 1, 7, and 8, data are categorized and presented to show how a particular choice of key variables or dimensions will produce a matrix of parameters, categories, and relations. If we apply this process to the "fighting" folk colleges as examined in our case data, they can be sorted out as in Table 13.1. Because most movements are concerned with a number of binds, and because their goals usually change over time, this sort of categorization is at best suggestive. It should, nevertheless, help to facilitate description and explanation of key factors associated with the creation of movement folk colleges. We should also note that different groups involved in social-movement education often articulate quite different and sometimes contradictory binds. Grundtvig and his professional followers, for example, spoke of ethnocultural, nationalistic, and religious binds. Rural people, however, used the folk high school founded by the Grundtvigians for their own quite different purposes—to increase their economic and political participation in national life. Similarly, working-class youth attending U.S. labor colleges acknowledged the bind articulated by labor college educators and intellectuals—i.e., the exploitation of workers and the goal of a worker's society—while seeking increased economic participation within the existing society. In this book we have been limited in the identification of structural binds to those presented in movement publications. Future research is needed on how movement adherents and students in movement educational programs as well articulate the binds that they perceive.

Given these limitations, the schema nevertheless allows us to pattern types of folk colleges as latent social or ethnic movement functions. These largely nonformal educational programs are created when discontented people seek to solve problems through mobilization, the creation of movement organization such as schools, the specification of an alternative formulation of problems, and the articulation of a dream worth working for.

We should note that while movement size is not a key consideration in the creation of movement educational programs, the way binds are identified and the articulation of realistic goals seems to be crucial. It makes little sense to attempt movement education when the skills learned do not prepare students to understand and apply the group's ideology or help them to identify

TABLE 13.1

A Classification of Scandinavian and North American Movement Folk Colleges

Structural Bind Articulated	*Stated Manifest Movement Objectives*	*Separatist*	*Reformist*	*Transformative*
Economic-Political			Most Swedish and Danish Movement Folk High Schools MAJ (+)	Work People's College, Brookwood and Commonwealth M (-)
Ethno-cultural		Swede-Finn Folk Colleges MEL (+) Lapp Folk High School MIND (-)	Most Norwegian Movement Folk High Schools MAJ (+)	
Religious		Danish Folk High Schools in America M (-)		

MAJ = Majority movement context
MIN = Minority movement context
MEL = Minority, elite movement context
MIND = Minority, indigenous movement context
+ = relatively successful
- = relatively unsuccessful

with and support a struggle where the odds are not overwhelming and where occasional progress toward goals can be won. Where the opposition was seemingly all-powerful, as with the American antiwar movement, there was little structured movement education after the early instructional "teach-ins." Rather, some movement activists turned to violent opposition, while the majority of sympathizers became increasingly alienated from a society they despaired of changing.

Another necessary if not sufficient condition for the founding of movement folk colleges is the tolerance of established authority. Clearly, movement education cannot exist without a movement. And social movements are only tolerated when their potential threat to the status quo is acceptable to those in control of the polity, the military, and the police. As may be noted, the cases examined here all occurred in liberal-conservative democratic settings with some tradition of a "loyal opposition." In each case, the movement's size and degree of "deviance" from the national value consensus, or national ideology, considerably influenced the ease with which movement education programs were created, supported, and used to help secure social changes. As a very small ethnic minority, the Swedish Lapps, as described in chapter 8, still struggle for the resources and state approval to develop their own *Same* movement folk high school. In contrast Swede-Finns, another minority group, with control of land and wealth, developed movement folk high schools as the need arose in their successful struggle for political power, constitutional recognition, and ethnic survival.

In the third separatist-oriented case (see chapter 9), the Danes in a missionary effort provided leadership and resources, and U.S. groups placed no restrictions on the movement's efforts to establish folk colleges. The impetus here came from abroad, but the bind it addressed—the need to remain Danish in religion and culture—also came from abroad and was not shared by many Danes in the New World.

In Scandinavia, folk movements by and large represented the interests of the vast majority of farmers and workers. This largely disenfranchised majority (before World War I) sought to build democratic egalitarian societies where none would starve or be forced to emigrate for lack of opportunity or human dignity. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this majority created within the folk sector its own folk institutions more or less organized on democratic and egalitarian principles. In contrast to the elitist state church, for example, the folk free church movement created fundamentalist churches free of state control. Folk language movements developed and extended popular alternatives to elite culture and language. The producer cooperative movement provided a successful democratic folk alternative to the traditional middle-class middleman and the commercial elite. The temperance movement, often in collaboration with the free church movement, sought to combat the pervasive problem of alcoholism among farmers and workers, a problem that tended to undermine the entire folk movement and the working class in general. In sum, all of the various streams that made up Scandinavian folk movements developed their own high schools and folk education programs for young adults.

All movement folk high schools received some state support, and this income undoubtedly enhanced their survival. It has also tended to mute the formulation and articulation of a more radical ideology of discontent and partisan struggle. Even the socialist folk colleges founded in the early 1900s, after some initial conservative opposition in parliaments, managed to secure government grants. The conservative's rationale for supporting socialist folk colleges was to limit the political nature of these schools and to provide a place where working-class youth could receive some post-primary schooling without their making demands for the reform of and access to elite-oriented secondary and higher education. The strategy was successful on both counts, and Scandinavian folk colleges have only rarely become highly political or disruptive.

When the movement is a small ethnic minority, however, as in the *Same* case, the majority—even if they are now Social Democrats, sees no obligation to help provide alternative movement schools. Now the state requires all students to attend common schools seeking acculturative and egalitarian outcomes.

Assessing Pedagogical Processes

The second basic question "What pedagogical processes have been most effective?" is difficult to answer in any but the most general manner. The connection between instruction and subsequent behavior is much studied, but little understood. And on the basis of our case study material, we cannot hope to do more than suggest some of the major types and characteristics of effective pedagogy, where "effectiveness" is viewed as securing and supporting active commitment to the attainment of movement goals.

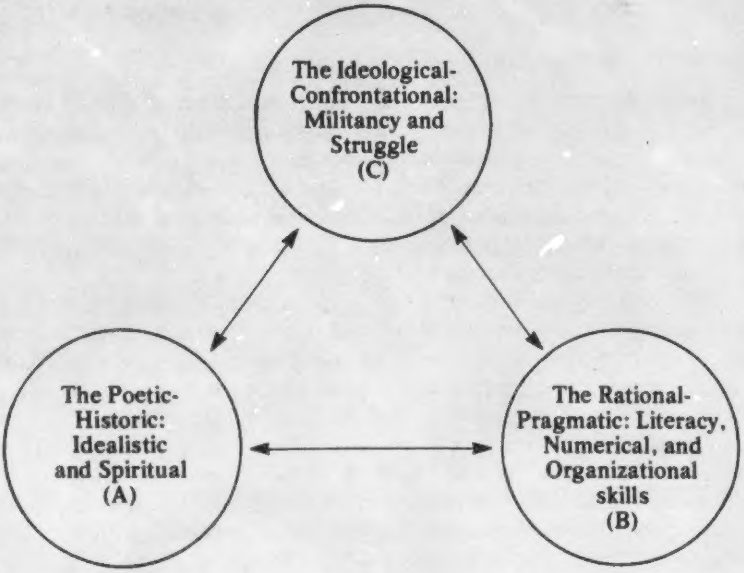
When one compares pedagogical orientation and processes in the typical Scandinavian folk movement schools and in the American labor movement folk colleges, several modal types seem to be present. One way of presenting these differences in pedagogical type is presented in Figure 13.1. Folk colleges would, depending on changes in movement needs and goals and in corresponding educational activities, have to be located at different points at different times. And, of course, all orientations have been present to some extent at various times in all folk college educational activities. The three orientations noted, however, have predominated at one time or another during the history of movement folk colleges and can easily be identified in many of the case studies in this volume. While the figure is only suggestive, it does help us to see major pedagogical orientations, and, in a gross way, correlate these orientations with the overall degree of effectiveness of movement education.

Clearly, the poetic-historic orientation has predominated where the Grundtvigian influence was strong, as in the Danish and Norwegian folk high schools serving rural movements. While a number of Danish disciples of Grundtvig sought to develop folk high schools in the United States with this orientation, the Danish-American students sought a Type B educational experience. And when the Grundtvigian folk colleges could not meet these expectations, the new high schools of rural America could and did.[5]

Even in Denmark, Type B orientations predominated in the cooperative and labor movement folk high schools. This has also long been the case in Sweden, where the rational-pragmatic orientation has shaped nearly all folk high school education. Disdaining both Grundtvigian spirtuality and ideological conflict, the Swedish folk movement educational programs have been highly successful in preparing for the peaceful shift from elitism to egalitarianism in Swedish national life. While this shift is still underway, the movement folk education programs now play far less important roles than they did up to and immediately after World War II. Today, through rational discourse, compromise, and interest-group bargaining, the political power of folk movements works through national institutions and not, as earlier, solely

FIGURE 13.1

Folk College Pedagogical Orientations


The Ideological-
Confrontational:
Militancy and
Struggle
(C)
The Poetic-
Historic:
Idealistic
and Spiritual
(A)
The Rational-
Pragmatic: Literacy,
Numerical, and
Organizational
skills
(B)

through folk institutions. As the folk movements have largely realized their dreams for societies directed toward human welfare, or welfare states, folk movement high schools have become part of the new, more egalitarian status quo. As this occurs, their pedagogical activities become ever more rational-pragmatic in orientation. They have increasingly become part of the formal educational system and are unique only for their residential settings and lack of emphasis on formal examinations and grades.

We might take note, however, of an earlier example of Type C pedagogy in a poem from a major Swedish folk high school journal in 1919.[6] This was a time of intense social-class confrontation between the labor movement and a Conservative government over growing folk demands for increased political participation. Writing in the meter of Viking verse, the poet seeks to encourage youthful dedication to a struggle for social justice and solidarity with the oppressed, a theme always present to some degree in movement education and one that underlies this book as well.

YOUNG VIKING

Glad in heart
over the sea
the viking young
went to fight
through the world
harsh and wide
sought to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

Black skies
the storm's squalls
waken and threaten with
danger's plight
to put out
firesoul's flame

But the young
looked for danger
glad to cast
spear against the crowd
glad to fight
glad to help
those who suffer

Then the cold
black Time's
waves beat . . . .
And soon the Battle's
brave fighter
lay there fettered
beaten bloody

Yes, beaten
but not crushed
Soon in the day
free, freed
risen from the dust
stormhappy fighter
heads for the light

You young
who would grow
learn life's heavy
hard lesson

Love, suffer
hate, fight
never dampen
Truth's fire
Fight through
hard fates
to reach
the happy land
the blue dream

In Sweden today, this type of poem would be an embarrassment to teachers and students in the labor movement's folk high schools. It has meaning only among Lapp students struggling to build their movement and their schools and to secure their dream of ethnic survival.

Other examples of a combination of the poetic-historic and ideological-confrontational orientations can be found in Scandinavian folk high school educational programs of the Swedish *Same* movement and the Swede-Finn movement, especially between the First and Second World Wars. In the first case, pedagogical effectiveness was greatly restricted by the movement's powerlessness. The Swede-Finns, in contrast, with considerable economic and political power, used A and C orientations to mobilize ethnic identity, articulate the structural bind, and, with great effect, to legitimize movement goals.

In American labor colleges during the same period, a small radical minority within the labor movement used Type C education to help in the struggle for industrial unions and a socialist society. Here educational contributions had some limited impact in local organizing efforts and strikes. The sharp and repressive reaction from established authority, business, and even the conservative union leadership, however, meant that these few gains served essentially to provoke a highly successful conservative backlash. As described in chapter 11, by World War II only Highlander Folk High School continued to provide democratic, social-change-oriented nonformal education programs within the American labor movement. Even these ended in the period of post-World War II reaction and the AFL-CIO industrial unions, as part of the establishment developed new anti-Communist education programs at Front Royal, Virginia, for third world workers.[7]

Folk College Contributions: Key Factors

In answer to our third question, what can we conclude, on the basis of the cases presented here, as to the conditions that seem to be correlated with the relative success or failure of folk high schools in social and ethnic movements? And how can such generalizations help us to assess the possible contributions that movement-education might make to movements only now forming or to others yet unknown?

Simply put, the most effective movement education programs have been found in either mass reformist movements successfully seeking to extend democratic participation and secure folk political dominance—as in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden—or in elite movements seeking to defend traditional rights—as with the Swede-Finns. When minority movements representing groups of relatively small size and little power seek to alter the status quo in ways detrimental to the perceived interests of the majority, their educational programs can rarely implant new values and behaviors that can be rewarded over time, either in or out of the movement context. New skills, critical awareness, and feelings of solidarity with the Scandinavian folk movements could be used to effect within the supportive folk institutions and the folk sector of society—i.e., in the folk high schools, in cooperatives, and in other folk-dominated organizations and institutions.

Drawing on Schermerhorn's paradigm of social groups presented in chapter 8, Table 13.2 illustrates how key characteristics can be used to classify social and ethnic movements and thus indicate movement potential for mounting sustained educational programs with some promise of helping to accomplish movement objectives—i.e., to ease the bind, to seek the dream.

When members of the large Scandinavian folk movements received the vote and secured political power after World War I, the movements they supported changed from Type C subordinate mass movements to Type A dominant majority movements. This would seem to be the most potentially

TABLE 13.2

Paradigm of Social Movements

Dominant Movements			
	Size	Power	
Type A	+	+	= Majority Movement (Scand. folk movements with the franchise; i.e., ch. 2, 4, 5, 6)
Type B	—	+	= Elite Movement (Swede-Finns; i.e., ch. 7)
Subordinate Movements			
Type C	+	—	= Mass Movement (Scand. folk movements before the franchise; i.e., chs. 4, 5, 6)
Type D	—	—	= Minority Movements (Ethnic movements, labor college movement, etc.; i.e., ch2. 8, 9, 10, 11)

fruitful setting for movement folk high school programs. Conversely, subordinate minority movement have used folk college and related education programs to greatest effect in providing "safe places" in hostile environments where conflicting definitions of the problems and ideologies of struggle can be elaborated and applied in enclave settings.

In Table 13.3, we can see something of how the rise of the folk high school movement in Scandinavia paralleled and supported the movement toward more democratic societies. In the United States, this struggle took place largely as a minority populist movement sought greater economic justice, while formal education worked overtime to acculturate America's newly arrived immigrant "folk."[8] In this regard, Work People's College might best be viewed as an European import somewhat comparable—if vastly different in its aims—to the imported Danish-American folk high schools.

In most developing countries, central authority will rarely tolerate even reformist social and ethnic movements. And even when it does, these efforts commonly lack leadership, trust, and traditions of cooperation, conditions that make collective change efforts from below difficult at best.[9]

Kulich suggests that the Scandinavian feat of using folk colleges in democratic movements will not be duplicated elsewhere, and the evidence would seem to support this view.[10] Where Davis argues in chapter 12 for minority folk colleges to defend ethnic group interests in a more humanistic and pluralistic society, Kulich contends that the folk high schools' value today is prima-

TABLE 13.3

Comparative Data on Selected Folk High Schools in Scandinavia and the United States*

Events, schools, enrollments	*Denmark*	*Norway*	*Sweden*	*Finland*	*United States***
EVENTS—DATES:					
First presentation of FHS idea	1832	1837	1867	1861	1876
Founding of first FHS	1844	1864	1868	1889	1878
First state grants	1851	1875	1872	1905	None
First second year course	1878	1898	1869	1908	(?)
First school of "Christian" emphasis	1887	1893	1917	1907	1894
First specialized school	1891	1939	1906	1924	(?)
Year of peak enrollment, first Quarter 20th century	1920-21	1920-21	1921-22	1920-21(?)	1913-14
NUMBER OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS:					
In 1890	68	12	25	5	3
According to latest data	70	74****	110	82	None
ENROLLMENTS:					
Peak enrollment, first third 20th century	7,006	2,000***	3,442	2,250	1650 est.
Peak enrollment, latest data	8,600	5,881	11,957	5,898	None
POPULATION DATA (LATEST DATA):****					
Total	5,059,000	4,017,200	8,208,400	4,923,000	215,135,000
Percent rural (1969)	22.9%	67.9%	27.2%	61.6%	30.1%

*Includes all types.

**Includes only labor movement and Danish-American folk high schools.

***Includes folk high schools, county schools, and youth schools. ****Britannica *Book of the Year,* 1977, p. 245. See also D. G. Larson, "A Comparison of the Spread of the Folk High School Idea in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States." (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, June 1970), p. 202.

rily as a model, or prototype, of liberal residential adult education for Western industrial nations.

But does the folk college experience presented here offer more than just a model for continuing adult education? I believe it does. In one regard, it specifies the conditions under which movement folk colleges have been founded and used with varying effectiveness. With the failure of U.S. educational reform efforts in formal schools during the past decade or so, great disillusionment has set in concerning the extent to which education can lead, or even contribute, to attempts to change inequitable social structures. Critics on the right and left deny any possibility of meaningful educational reform, let alone the possibility of educational reforms feeding into larger efforts toward social reform.[11]

We have attempted to demonstrate that if one only looks to the formal schools, the critics are by and large correct. The evidence is compelling that formal schools will always work to reproduce and legitimize whatever society controls them. But we need not necessarily stop here. For the evidence also demonstrates that when nonformal educational programs are created and controlled by large groups seeking incremental social change, this type of autonomous change-oriented education can help to facilitate, albeit under certain limiting conditions, a wide variey of individual and structural change.

Clearly, the "fighting" folk college nonformal education variant is highly circumscribed in where it can operate; it is also limited by the ability of movement leaders to set realistic goals, secure resources, and maintain efforts to reduce the bind without provoking repression. But it is also clear that formal schools, because they cannot deviate far from the national ideology or national value "consensus," offer little as points of entry for those who would make societies more humanitarian and democratic.

While the "fighting" folk schools may offer an underdog strategy of sorts for an educational approach to social change, they are perhaps equally valuable as an alternative type of education, as an example of what Victor Turner calls *anti-structure* i.e., a positive, generative center that stands in contrast to social "structure."[12] Here structure is viewed as a more or less distinctive arrangement of mutually dependent institutions and the institutional organization of social positions and/or actors—as in formal schools. Anti-structure does not imply a radical negativity, but rather the properties of liminality and communitas. Liminality occurs "in the middle phase of the rites of passage that mark changes in an individual's or a group's social status and/or cultural and psychological state."[13] Communitas is the nonstructural relationship shared by members of the group undergoing transtion. Turner notes that the "mystical rhetoric" associated with anti-structure is, as with Grundtvig's work and folk college poems and manifestos, very often characteristic of movements of egalitarian, popular protest during liminal periods of history when social, economic, and intellectual structures that have shown great consistency and stability over long periods of time begin to break up and become objects of questioning, both in structural and anti-structural terms.[14]

Movement folk high schools in the past and present, when in opposition to existing structures and in their struggles for social renewal, are examples of Turner's term. Where they have become successful and institutionalized—as in much of Scandinavia today—they become part of the structural obstacle that new groups seeking to realize other dreams must oppose with new educational efforts and relations as anti-structure consistent with their perceptions of structural binds and social justice. If a society will tolerate the continual dialectic of reformist social movements and social movement education in opposition to existing structures, there will be, as I have sought to demonstrate in this book, opportunities for the realization of man as both a structural and an anti-structural entity, who conserves through structure and grows through anti-structure.

NOTES

1. J. Cary, *Except the Lord* (London: Michael Joseph, 1953), p. 287.

2. For work discussing the need for such a unified general theory, see my study, "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Frameworks" *Comparative Education Review*21 (June and October 1977): 370-95; and Ch. 5, "Towards a Theory of Educational Change" in P. Dalin, *Limits to Educational Change* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), pp. 74-94.

3. For a discussion of the various components of any country's national learning complex, i.e., the formal school system, and the nonformal, informal, and international sectors, see my book, *Non-Formal Education* (New York: Praeger Special Studies in International Economics and Development, 1972), pp. ix-xvi.

4. Examples of Americans proposing folk high schools as an adult education model have proliferated with contacts between American educators and Scandinavian folk high schools. Perhaps the best work remains J. K. Hart's *Light From the North: The Danish Folk High Schools, Their Meanings for America* (New York: Henry Holt, 1926). For more recent efforts to "sell" folk colleges to Americans, see K. E. Parke, *Norway's Folk High Schools: Report of a Sabbatical Experience* (Albany: SUNY, 1963); R. E. Belding, "Danish Industry and the Updated Folk High School," *Phi Delta Kappan* 46 (April 1965): 400-01; and E. Mortensen, "A Futuristic Look at the Nordic Folk High School," *Teachers College Record* 77 (May 1976): 495-504. For the most recent example, see Enok Mortensen, *Schools for Life: The Grundtvigian Folk High Schools in America* (Askov, Minn.: American Publishing Company, 1977). Mortensen taught at three of these schools and served as a pastor for Danish-American congregations. He argues that the attempt to transplant folk schools from Denmark to America was less a failure than might appear on the surface. The schools provided education for thousands of Danish immigrants and persons of Danish descent, and the folk school concept helped American educators to establish some special schools, still functioning today, where the emphasis is on democraccy, human dignity, and personal development rather that on grades and diplomas. Mortensen maintains that the folk schools' basic ideas, if adapted to the American cultural setting, have much to offer the United States.

5. See Carl Glover, "Talking with Johannes Knudsen," *Option, Newsletter of the Folk-College Association in America* 2 (Winter 1978): 3-5. Knudsen attended Danish folk high schools at Nysted, Nebraska, and Tyler, Minnesota, while his father was minister to and directed the schools. He observes, "Knowledge was not unimportant, but knowledge was conveyed for a purpose. The intent was not to attain diplomas or to educate for a trade or profession but to educate for living. The human spirit was to be lifted . . . . The teaching method was inspirational, namely the personal word or the oral communication, and the subject matter was usually history and literature. Singing was a liberating and gratifying way of expression."

He cites four reasons for the disappearance of these folk schools during the "roaring twenties:" (1) Third-generation Danish Americans regarded the folk schools as an ethnic institution, not up to date with modern America; (2) immigration stopped with World War I, drying up the main source of new students; (3) the twenties saw more secondary schools available for the first time to Danish-American communities; and (4) the Danish folk school system was not flexible enough to adjust. Most of the facilities were so primitive that they no longer appealed to young people.

6. By John Svenson—Ed., *Studiekamraten*, No. 23-24 (1919):p. 5. Translated by Christina Bratt Paulston. For another good example of the use of poetry to articulate the bind and the dream, see Florence Howe, "Mississippi Freedom Schools: The Politics of Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 35 (Spring 1965):144-60.

7. For an excellent study of subsequent attempts to mobilize poor, largely unemployed Americans, but without residential movement education programs, see Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why they Succeed, How they Fail* (New York: Pantheon, 1977);and Nick Kotz and Mary Lynn Kotz, *A Passion for Equality: George Wiley and the Movement* (New York: Norton, 1977). Wiley, a black who organized the National welfare Rights Organization in the 1960s, concluded that a strategy of confrontation failed because minority movements can succeed only if the majority is passive or sympathetic. He concluded before his death in 1973 and with his adoption of a new strategy, a Movement for Economic Justice, that only such a broad-based movement aimed at the economic interests of a majority of Americans could ever succeed in bringing about the egalitarian changes he desired. See also Robert Lekachman's review, "A Piece of the Action is Not Enough," *Social Policy* (November/December 1977):127-32. E. J. Hobsbawm, in his article "Should the Poor Organize?" *New York Review of Books* 25 (March 23, 1978):44-49, argues instead that the disorganized nonworking poor gain most by disruption, by refusing "to play the game" and relying on the political reverberations to generate concessions from above. Mass movements of the working poor, as the Scandinavian cases presented demonstrate, have gained more through organization, avoidance of militancy, and the pursuit of reformist goals seeking greater economic and political participation.

8. While the U.S. Populist movement and the Scandiniavian folk movements brought together farmers and workers seeking fundamental restructuring of finance capitalism and the banking systems, and both sought the dream of cooperative commonwealth in movement education, mass encampments, etc., the American populists remained for the most part agrarian radicals and never successfully joined forces with the labor movement to take political power, as did the Scandinavian folk movements. See Lawrence Goodwyn's superb study, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

9. But not altogether impossible. For attempts to support local "grassroots" projects seeking to build cooperatives, unions, medical facilities, etc., with contributions from Type B nonformal education programs, see Inter-American Foundation, *They Know How: An Experiment in Development Assistance* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. government Printing Office, 1977); and E. J. Meehan, *In Partnership With People: An Alternative Development Strategy* (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Foundation, 1979), p. 178.

10. See Jindra Kulich, "The Danish Folk High School: Can It be Transplanted? The Success and Failure of the Danish Folk High School at Home and Abroad" *International Review of Education* 10 (1964):417-28.

11. M. Carnoy, for example, while rejecting the possibility of fundamental educational reform without an overthrow of the capitalist system, nevertheless proposes an "encroachment strategy" where teachers, students, and parents organize for control over the management of schools. This strategy views education as synonymous with schooling and ignores all possibilities or experiences with alternative nonformal education in social movements, as in labor colleges, ethnic movements, or the effective voter registration NFE program. It also ignores the need to support any change strategy with historical or empirical case evidence bearing on the logic and feasibility of the course proposed. Without supporting evidence, Carnoy's education-based strategy to encroach on capitalism becomes an exercise in exhortation with little nomothetic or practical utility. For an excellent case in point of how alternative nonformal and informal education contributed to the rise of a Chicano "revitalization movement" in Crystal City, Texas, and the impact of this development on public schooling after the ethnic movement won control over the school district with democratic elections, see W. Elwood Smith, "Revitalization and Chicano Power: Reconsidering Wallace after the 1960s" (St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas, January 1978, 36 p. ms.).

12. *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974). See especially chapter 7, "Metaphors of Anti-Structure in Religious Culture," pp. 272-99.*

13. *Ibid., p. 273.*

14. *Ibid., p. 292.*

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